

A HISTORY OF THE
PEACE CONFERENCE
OF PARIS

PUBLISHED BY THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF
HENRY FROWDE, HODDER AND STOUGHTON
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A HISTORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF PARIS

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H. W. V. TEMPERLEY

VOL. III

CHRONOLOGY, NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

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CORRIGENDUM

VOLUME I, PAGE 437. According to the authoritative version of this speech (*President Wilson's Foreign Policy*, edited by James Brown Scott) the words 'There shall be no annexations' etc. should not be in italics.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY¹

1914.

- Junc 28. Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Serajevo.
- July 23. Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia.
 - 28. Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia.
- Aug. 1. Germany declares war on Russia.
 - 2. German troops invade Luxemburg.
 - 3. Germany declares war on France.
 - 4. Germany declares war on Belgium, after ultimatum on Aug. 2.
 - British ultimatum and state of war at 11 p.m.
 - 5. Austria-Hungary declares war on Russia.
- 10. France and (Aug. 12) Great Britain declare war on Austria-Hungary.
- 20. Germans enter Brussels.
- 23. Japan declares war on Germany.
- 25. Austria-Hungary declares war on Japan, and on Belgium (Aug. 27).
- Sept. 5. Agreement of London : France, Great Britain, and Russia agree to make no separate peace (endorsed by Italy and Japan, Nov. 30, 1915).
- 6-10. Battle of the Marne.
- Oct. 29. Turkey enters war on German side.
- Nov. 5. Great Britain declares war on Turkey, and annexes Cyprus.
 - 9. Asquith on British war-aims.
 - 12. Turkey formally declares war on Triple Entente.
- Dec. 17. British protectorate proclaimed in Egypt.
- 24. Great Britain recognizes French protectorate in Morocco.

1915.

- Jan. 13. Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, succeeded by Baron Stephen Burian.
- Feb. 4. Germans declare submarine blockade round Great Britain as from Feb. 18.
 - 25. Bombardment of Dardanelles by Allies.
- Mar. 15. British reply to German submarine blockade.
- 20. Secret understanding *re* Constantinople reached between Russia, France, and Great Britain.
- Apr. 26. Treaty of London secretly signed between Italy, France, Great Britain, and Russia.
 - 28. Great German offensive against Russia begins.
- May 3. Italy denounces Triple Alliance.
 - 7. Lusitania torpedoed.
 - 28. Italy declares war against Austria-Hungary.

¹ This summary is, in no sense, exhaustive, and in the years 1914-17 merely records some of the more important diplomatic incidents referred to in the text. From Jan. 1, 1919, to Jan. 21, 1920, it is based almost wholly on *The Times* newspaper.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

1915.

- May 25. Japanese agreements with China.
 Formation of Coalition Ministry in Great Britain (Asquith, Bonar Law, &c.).
- June 8. Robert Lansing succeeds W. J. Bryan as Secretary of State, U.S.A.
- Aug. 3. Entente reply to Bulgarian note of June 14.
 20. Italy declares war on Turkey.
 21. Great Britain declares cotton absolute contraband.
 22. Venizelos forms new Government in Greece (resigns Oct. 5).
- Sept. Anti-war Conference of Socialists meets at Zimmerwald.
- Oct. 4-5. Allies land at Salonica.
14. Bulgaria declares war on Serbia ; Allies announce state of war with Bulgaria (Oct. 14-19).
 28. Briand succeeds Viviani as French Premier ; British Cabinet decides on compulsory military service.

1916.

- Jan. 18. Austro-Hungarians occupy Cettinje.
- Feb. 21. German attack on Verdun begins.
- Mar. 9. Germany and (15) Austria-Hungary declare war on Portugal.
- Apr. 18. President Wilson threatens to sever diplomatic relations with Germany unless outrages at sea are stopped. Note received Berlin 20 ; German Government gives way May 4.
- 24-30. Sinn Fein rebellion in Ireland.
- May 9. Sykes-Picot secret agreement arranging for a French zone in Syria, a British zone in Mesopotamia, and an international zone in Palestine.
- 14-June 9. Austro-Hungarian offensive on Asiago plateau.
 25. British Conscription Act becomes law.
 31-June 1. Battle of Jutland.
- June 7. Grand Sherif of Mecca throws off allegiance to Turkey ; recognized as King of the Hejaz by Great Britain, Dec. 16.
- 14-16, 21. Economic Conference at Paris, Resolutions.
- July 1. Somme offensive begins.
 8. Great Britain finally abandons Declaration of London.
- June-Aug. Brussiloff's offensive from Pripet to Bukovina.
- Aug. 17. Secret treaty with Rumania signed by Italy, France, Great Britain, and Russia.
27. Rumania declares war on Austria-Hungary.
 Italy declares war on Germany as from 28th.
 28. Germany, Austria-Hungary (30), Turkey (Sept. 1) declare war on Rumania.
- 28-9. Fall of Falkenhayn, Hindenburg becomes Chief of Staff with Ludendorff as Ober-Quartier-Meister.
- Oct.-Nov. 18. Great British offensive on Somme.
- Oct. 22-3. Mackensen captures Constanza from Rumanians.
- Nov. 1. French recover Fort Vaux at Verdun.
 5. Central Powers proclaim independence of Poland.
 7. Woodrow Wilson re-elected President of U.S.A.
 15. Allied Conference at Chantilly to determine campaign of 1917 ; Tsar issues statement on Poland.
 21. Death of Francis Joseph, accession of Emperor Charles.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

3

1916.

- Dec. 5. Resignation of Mr. Asquith and formation of Mr. Lloyd George's Government.
- 6. The Germans capture Bucharest.
- 12. The German Peace Note addressed to U.S.A. and the Pope.
- 18. President Wilson's Peace Note communicated to the belligerents on Dec. 20.
- 23. Count Czernin becomes Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister *vice* Baron Burian.
- 28. French Socialist National Congress condemns German peace proposals by small majority.
- 30. Allied reply to the German Peace Note ; German answer to Wilson, Dec. 26.

1917.

- Jan. 9. Secret German decision to apply unrestricted submarine warfare.
- 10. Reply of the Allied Governments to President Wilson's Note, stating their war-aims. Belgians reply separately.
- 11. German and Austro-Hungarian notes to Neutrals.
- 16. Balfour's dispatch to Washington commenting on Allied note of Dec. 30, 1916.
- 22. President Wilson comments on the Peace Note to the Senate.
- 31. The Germans announce unrestricted submarine warfare.
- Jan.-Feb. Japanese secret agreements with Entente Powers *re* Shantung.
- Feb. 3. The United States breaks off diplomatic relations with Germany.
- 14. Russo-French secret exchange of views *re* Left Bank of Rhine, Saar Valley, and Poland.
- 25. German retreat in the West.
- Mar. 12. The First Russian Revolution. (From this date to June there was practically a cessation of fighting on the Eastern front.) Ministry formed by Prince Lvoff.
- 14. French Ministerial crisis, resignation of Gen. Lyautey and (17) of Briand ; Ribot forms new Ministry (19), Painlevé Minister of War.
- 30. Russian Revolutionary Government acknowledges independence of Poland.
- 31. The Emperor Charles's letter about Alsace-Lorraine communicated to M. Poincaré.
- Apr. 6. The United States declare war on Germany. Proclamation signed by President on 6th. Resolution before Senate on 4th, before House of Representatives on 5th.
- 7. Cuba declares war and Panama (8) associates itself with U.S.A. against Germany.
- 9. The Franco-British offensive begins in the West.
- 10. Repudiation of imperialism and consequently of desire for Constantinople by the Russian Government.
- 11. Brazil and (18) Bolivia and (27) Guatemala sever diplomatic relations with Germany ; Argentine (11) benevolent neutrality.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1917.
- Apr. 12. Czernin's note recommends peace to the Emperor Charles.
 - 13. U.S.A. severs diplomatic relations with Turkey.
 - May 12. The Soviets invite an International Labour Congress to meet at Stockholm.
 - 14. Italian offensive from Tolmino to the Sea.
 - 15. Bethmann-Hollweg outlines his war-aims to the Reichstag.
 - 17. Honduras and (19) Nicaragua and (8) Liberia sever diplomatic relations with Germany.
 - 30. The Russian Soviets appeal for a restatement of the war-aims of the Allies.
 - Austrian Reichsrath meets for first time since war began.
 - June 1. Ribot refuses passports for French delegates to the proposed congress at Stockholm.
 - 2. Brazil revokes her neutrality as between Germany and U.S.A.
 - 3. Albanian independence, under Italian protection, proclaimed.
 - 7. Battle for the Messines Ridge. New Russian offensive fails.
 - 11. Abdication of King Constantine in favour of his second son Alexander.
 - June 12-July 16. Meetings of Imperial War Conference in London.
 - 15. Haiti severs diplomatic relations with Germany.
 - 17. Resolutions of new Paris Economic Conference.
 - 27. Hindenburg's letter to the Kaiser on the decline of German *moral*.
 - 30. Greece severs diplomatic relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary.
 - July 1. Brusiloff's abortive offensive across the Dniester.
 - 6. Erzberger's revelations in the Reichstag about the failure of the U-boat campaign.
 - 11. Kaiser signs Rescript promising universal direct and secret suffrage in Prussia after the war, issued 12th.
 - 13-14. Resignation of Bethmann-Hollweg. Michaelis Chancellor.
 - 19. The Reichstag resolution, Peace with 'no annexations or indemnities' adopted by 214 to 116.
 - 22. Siam declares state of war with Germany and Austria-Hungary.
 - 31. Third Battle of Ypres.
 - Stockholm Conference. Bolsheviks send representatives.
 - Aug. 1. The Pope's Note to the belligerents, published on 15th.
 - 6. Kerensky, Russian Prime Minister.
 - 7. Major Armand (French Agent) and Count Revertera (Austrian agent) meet in Switzerland; Liberia declares war on Germany.
 - 11. Mr. Henderson resigns from British War Cabinet.
 - 14. China declares war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.
 - 15. New British offensive.
 - The alleged German offer to M. Briand through the mediation of Baron Lanken.
 - 17. Secret letter of Michaelis to Count Czernin proves that he has not really accepted the Reichstag Resolution.
 - 27. President Wilson rejects Peace overtures of the Pope.

1917.

- Sept. 1-3. Fall of Riga.
 7-13. Ribot resigns and (13) Painlevé becomes Premier, with Ribot as Foreign Secretary.
 10-13. The Korniloff episode in Russia.
 11. Ludendorff opposes the 'Peace Resolution' at a Crown Council.
 15. Russia is declared a Republic.
 19. German reply to the Pope's Peace Note drafted by 'Free Committee' of Reichstag, (20) Austro-Hungarian reply, (26) Bulgarian, and (30) Turkish reply.
 23. Costa Rica breaks off relations with Germany.
- Oct. 6. Peru and (7) Uruguay sever relations with Germany.
 9. Kühlmann says 'Germany will *never* give back Alsace-Lorraine'.
 13. U.S.A. to utilize Dutch shipping in American harbours.
 20. Peace terms suggested by the Russian Soviet.
 24. Italian defeat at Caporetto.
 26. Brazil declares war on Germany.
 28. Fall of Michaelis, (31) Count Hertling Chancellor.
- Nov. 7. Second or Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, fall of Kerensky.
 7-9. Allied Conference at Rapallo decides on Supreme War-Council, announced by Lloyd George at Paris, Nov. 12.
 13. Brazilian reply to Pope's Peace Note.
 17. Clemenceau takes office in France, Painlevé resigned 13th.
 20. Clemenceau speaks on the War and on League of Nations.
 British attack at Cambrai.
 22. Trotsky's invitation to a general peace; publication of Entente secret treaties begins.
 28. Lenin proposes a general armistice on all fronts.
 Lord Lansdowne's first letter.
- Dec. 1. First meeting of Inter-Allied Council at Versailles; present, Clemenceau, Gen. Foch (*France*), Lloyd George, Generals Robertson and Wilson (*Great Britain*), Col. House and Gen. Bliss (*U.S.A.*), Orlando and Gen. Cadorna (*Italy*).
 3. Negotiations for Armistice on the Eastern front.
 4. President Wilson recommends a declaration of War on Austria-Hungary, (7) United States declares war.
 9. Jerusalem surrenders to Sir E. Allenby. Ecuador severs diplomatic relations with Germany.
 Rumania signs truce and (12) armistice with Bolsheviks.
 12. Cuba declares war on Austria-Hungary.
 15. Armistice signed between Central Powers and Bolsheviks for 28 days as from Dec. 17. Chile declares neutrality between Brazil and Germany.
 19. French Government recognizes the Czechoslovak forces in France as 'an autonomous army'.
 22. Brest-Litovsk negotiations begin and extend into February, Trotsky invites the Allied Governments to the negotiations.
 24. Belgian reply to Pope's Peace Note.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1918.**
- Jan. 1. Ludendorff's Manual on the 'Offensive' issued to German Army; General Smuts reported in Switzerland.
 - 5. Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Trade Union Conference restating Allied terms.
 - 8. President Wilson's Address to Congress, 'The Fourteen Points'.
 - 16-17. Strikes in Vienna.
 - 24. Counts Hertling and Czernin reply to Lloyd George and Wilson.
 - 28-31. Strikes in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, and other towns.
 - Feb. 2. Meeting of French and Austro-Hungarian agents in Switzerland, broken off end of February.
 - 4. Statement of the Allied War Council at Versailles breaks off the discussion of peace terms.
 - 9. Separate peace signed between the Central Powers and the Ukrainian Rada.
 - 10. Trotsky refuses to sign the German treaty.
 - 11. President Wilson's Address to Congress, 'The Four Principles'.
 - 12. Bolsheviks capture Kieff.
 - 18. Germans declare armistice ended and recommence hostilities against Russians.
 - 20. International Labour Conference at London.
Ukrainian Treaty approved by all parties in Reichstag, except Poles and Minority Socialists.
 - 24. Peoples Commissaries decide to accept German peace terms.
 - Mar. 3. Peace of Brest-Litovsk signed between Bolsheviks and Central Powers; ratified by fourth Congress of Soviets, Mar. 16.
 - 5. Lord Lansdowne's second letter.
 - 7. German Treaty with Finland signed.
 - 14-16. Brest-Litovsk Treaty discussed and ratified by Fourth Congress of Soviets at Moscow.
 - 15. Clemenceau attacks French Socialists in Chamber.
 - 21. German offensive launched, Bapaume, Peronne, Nesle captured by 25th; Associated Powers requisition Dutch ships by 'right of angiery'.
 - 26. Supreme Command instituted: Marshal Foch publicly announced as Allied Generalissimo, Apr. 16.
 - Apr. 6. President Wilson's address at Baltimore.
 - 8-10. Congress of oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary at Rome.
 - 15. Count Czernin resigns as Austro-Hungarian Minister, after controversy with Clemenceau, succeeded by Baron Burian.
 - May 7. Treaty of Bucharest signed between Rumania and the Central Powers.
 - 17. Gen. Smuts at Glasgow: 'We will not have a peace secured merely by the unaided efforts of armies in this war.'
 - 27. German offensive on Chemin des Dames.
 - June 15. Austrian offensive from Asiago and across the Piave.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

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1918.

- June 24. Kühlmann's speech in Reichstag, 'an absolute end can hardly be expected through military decisions alone'.
28. United States announce their intention that 'all branches of the Slav race should be completely freed from German and Austrian rule'.
- July 4. President Wilson's speech at the tomb of Washington, 'The Four Objects'.
- 11-12. Count Hertling's speeches, 'Belgium is a pawn for future negotiations.'
18. Foch's counter-offensive launched.
31. Lord Lansdowne's third letter.
- Aug. 8. Haig's attack, Morlancourt and Moreuil, 'The black day of the German Army'.
- 13-15. German-Austrian secret peace conference at Spa.
27. Supplementary Treaties of Brest-Litovsk signed.
- Sept. 2. British storm Wotan line.
3. President Wilson recognizes Czecho-Slovak National Council as a belligerent Government.
10. Hindenburg recommends peace to the Austrian Emperor.
12. Americans wipe out St. Mihiel salient.
- Kaiscr's speech to Krupp's workmen.
15. Austro-Hungarian Peace Note to Wilson.
- Allied victorious offensive at Salonica.
16. President Wilson's reply to Austrian Peace Note.
19. Allenby's victories in Palestine.
27. President Wilson's speech, 'The Five Particulars'.
28. King Albert with British-Belgian forces attacks between Ypres and Dixmude.
29. German Government decides to request peace from Wilson.
- Surrender of Bulgaria; Bulgarian Armistice signed.
30. Resignation of Count Hertling, accepted Oct. 1.
- 'Siegfried' line stormed by British.
- Capture of Damascus by Allenby.
- Oct. 1. Ludendorff asks German Government to send peace note at once; negotiations with Prince Max of Baden begin.
3. Prince Max of Baden German Chancellor.
4. Americans resume offensive in Argonne.
- Austro-Hungarian Peace Note to Wilson transmitted via Swedish Minister, received Washington Oct. 7.
- First German Peace Note to Wilson, transmitted via Switzerland Oct. 5, received Washington Oct. 6.
- Abdication of Ferdinand King of Bulgaria.
5. Prince Max of Baden announces Peace Note in Reichstag.
8. Wilson's reply to First German Note.
9. 'Hindenburg' line broken. Canadians enter Cambrai.
12. Second German Peace Note.
14. Wilson's reply to Second German Peace Note.
- Hindenburg and Ludendorff's circular to the army.
18. Wilson's reply to Austro-Hungarian Note.
20. Third German Peace Note.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1918.**
- Oct. 22. Reichstag meets.
 - 23. Wilson's reply to Third German Note.
 - 27. Ludendorff dismissed. Austro-Hungarian line broken on the Piave by Italians and army under Lord Cavan. Austro-Hungarian Government accepts Wilson's conditions for Czechoslovak and Jugo-Slav independence, and asks for pourparlers.
 - 28. German fleet refuses to leave harbour at Kiel.
 - 30. Turkey surrenders and signs Armistice.
 - 31. Austro-Hungarian Commander-in-Chief asks Italy for an Armistice.
- Kaiser leaves Berlin for G.H.Q.
- Nov. 1. Emperor Charles leaves Vienna.
- Revolution in Austria, assassination of Tisza at Budapest. General offensive on Western front renewed.
 - 3. Austria-Hungary signs Armistice with Italy.
 - Kaiser's letter to Prince Max of Baden accepting constitutional reform.
 - 5. President Wilson's final reply to German Government embodying the terms of the Allied and Associated Powers. Further naval mutinies at Kiel.
 - 6. German Government applies to Foch for terms of Armistice. Joffe leaves Berlin.
 - 7. German Armistice Commission leaves Spa for Allied lines. Revolution in Bavaria.
 - 9. Revolution in Berlin, Abdication of Kaiser, his flight to Holland. Flight of King of Bavaria. Republic proclaimed Dec. 9.
 - Rumania re-enters the war.
 - 11. Germany signs Armistice; Americans reach Sedan.
 - 12. Allied fleet passed through Dardanelles.
 - Fusion of two Socialist Parties in Germany and Coalition Government formed.
 - Abdication of Charles as Emperor, but not as King of Hungary.
 - 13. Allied fleet anchored off Constantinople.
 - Military Convention with Hungary signed by French and Serb representatives.
 - 14. Surrender under Armistice of German East-African Force. Decision of British Labour Party to end political truce and withdraw from Government.
 - 15. Reichstag ended. Prussian Diet dissolved and Upper House abolished.
 - Professor Masaryk elected President of Czechoslovak Republic.
 - 16. New Brazilian Government formed.
 - 17. Hungarian Republic proclaimed.
 - Movement of Allied troops towards the Rhine.
 - Baku occupied by British and Russian troops.
 - Posen occupied by Polish troops.

1918.

- Nov. 18. Coup d'état in Siberia ; Admiral Koltchak, Dictator.
Brussels occupied by Belgian troops.
19. Metz entered by French troops.
Fiume occupied by Italians and evacuated by Serbs.
Formal entry of King and Queen of Belgium into Antwerp.
Executive Committee of Soviet Councils meets in Germany.
20. Surrender of twenty German U-boats.
21. Surrender of German Navy.
Namur occupied by British.
Constantinople occupied by Allied troops.
22. Formal entry of King and Queen of Belgium into Brussels.
Street fighting in Berlin.
24. Arrival through Luxemburg of British and American
Armies at German Frontier.
25. Formal entry into Strasbourg of French under Marshal
Foch.
Black Sea visited by Allied warships.
- Dec. 1. The British Army crossed the German Frontier.
4. President Wilson sailed for France in the *George Washington*.
6. Spartacist risings in Berlin and Munich.
11. Count Czernin publicly denounces the Germans for having
prolonged the war.
12. The occupation of the Cologne bridgehead begun.
13. President Wilson landed in France.
14. The President of the Portuguese Republic, Senhor Sidonio
Paes, was assassinated at Lisbon.
The armistice was renewed for one month to Jan. 17,
1919.
16. Meeting of General Congress of German Councils fixes
elections for Jan. 19.
19. Sir Douglas Haig and British Army Commanders returned
to England.
20. The Conference of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates at
Berlin passed a resolution in favour of the socialization
of industries.
22. Professor Masaryk, President of the Czecho-Slovak Re-
public, took the oath of loyalty to the Republic at
Prague.
23. Further street fighting in Berlin.
26. President Wilson arrived in London from France.
27. State banquet to President Wilson in London.
28. The results of the General Election in Great Britain give
a majority of 262 to the Coalition.
29. Clemenceau and Pichon speak in the French Parliament on
the prospects of peace.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

THE PEACE CONFERENCE¹

<i>Date published in 'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
	1918.
	Dec. 31. President Wilson leaves for Paris and Rome; returned to Paris Jan. 7. Preliminary discussions in France and Great Britain.
1919.	1919.
	Jan. 4. Arrival of Sir E. Crowe and other British Foreign Office representatives.
	6. It is believed by strict attention to business, &c., main programme will be disposed of in four or five weeks, leaving rest to special commissions.
	7. Arrival of Lord Robert Cecil.
	8. Arrival of Lord Hardinge.
	9. Advantages of delay in giving time for ideas to crystallize, especially on League of Nations, establishment of Economic Council 'Inter-Allied Food Machine'.
	Orlando arrives for two days, Sonnino for good.
	10. French representatives only include one lifelong diplomatist, i. e. Dutasta. Article in <i>Temps</i> says French Government gives pride of place to League of Nations.
	11. Lloyd George leaves for Paris, together with Prime Ministers of Colonies, &c., and C.I.G.S.
Jan. 13.	11. Documents published in <i>Humanité</i> . Discussion between England and France as to representation of Russia. French reply, December 5, rejects British idea of an invitation to all Russian parties, including Bolsheviks.
	12. First meeting, 2.30, Quai d'Orsay, Wilson, Clemenceau, Orlando, Lloyd George, and Balfour. Independence of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia recognized. Meeting of Inter-Allied Committee to be called 'Supreme Council of Supply and Relief'.
	13. First meeting of British Empire Delegation (B.E.D.). Second meeting of Supreme War Council (S.W.C.) settled terms of Armistice and discussions as to procedure. Status of Armenia and Rumania.

¹ The chronological summary from Dec. 31, 1918, to Jan. 31, 1919, is based on *The Times* newspaper, and contains summaries of their communiqués, reports, &c., and on other press organs, which are valuable as illustrating contemporary opinion. In a number of cases, however, the dates of events are drawn from other sources.

<i>'Times'</i> .	<i>Date.</i>
1919.	1919.
Jan. 15.	Jan. 13. Medina capitulates to the King of the Hejaz. 14. Scheme of Berthelot for business of the Conference. 16. 15. Joint official communiqués to be issued. Adoption of panel system. 16. Attack on secrecy of Conference. Protests of British and American Press. French newspapers appear with censorship blanks. Paderewski Premier of Poland. Murder of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and other Spartacists in Berlin. 12 to 18. Resignation of Nitti. Orlando has to form a new Cabinet. 16. Armistice Convention renewed till Feb. 17. 17. Difficulties of publicity. Official statement as to its impossibility. Baron Hakino arrives in Liverpool. 18. 18. <i>First meeting of Conference (Plenary Session).</i>
21.	19. Orlando at last organizes Italian representation. German Assembly Elections give 163 Social Democrats, 92 Centrum, 75 Democrats, 91 others. 20. Ruthenians recognize supreme authority of Ukraine Rada. 21. Arrival of M. Ador, President of Swiss Republic. 22. Decision to send a mission to Poland of two delegates from each Great Power. Prinkipo offer announced. Results of German elections announced. Protests against waste of time at Conference.
23.	23. Meeting of British Empire Delegation (B.E.D.). 23. Further protests of <i>Times</i> at experts not being consulted. 'They wait without the closed doors with nothing to do.'
24.	24. Supreme War Council (S.W.C.) meeting. Loucheur Commission set up. Warning to all nations against trying to anticipate decision of Conference by seizing territory. <i>Times</i> records impatience and discontent of Small Powers at being outside the Conference.
27.	25. <i>Second Plenary Session.</i> Protests of Small Nations begun by M. Hymans for Belgium, and including Sir Robert Borden. Clemenceau answers, and Small Powers yield. Small numbers necessary for committees. Appointment of League of Nations (L. of N.) Commission, two for each Great Power, five for all Small Powers. International Ports, Waterways, and Railways Commission appointed, 9 small powers represented; and International Labour Commission appointed.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'</i> .	<i>Date.</i>	
1919.	1919.	
Jan. 27.		Representatives of Powers with special interests choose their delegates under presidency of Jules Cambon. Meeting of B.E.D.
		Ador, Swiss President, leaves after seeing principal statesmen, and pointing out interests of neutrals in the League.
Jan. 29.	28.	British Government invited Labour leaders to confer with Mr. Barnes. Berne meeting put off.
	28.	Polish Nationalists seize Posen.
29.	24.	F. H. Simonds's first article, 'Great Powers nearer together'. Conservative, but not reactionary.
		Mystery of President Wilson.
	31.	Allied and Associated Powers send mission to Teschen.
Feb. 3.	Feb. 1.	F. H. Simonds's article, 'Necessary for America to remain in Europe'.
	3.	First meeting of Committee of L. of N., and other committees.
		Signature of Teschen agreement.
6.	5.	Confusion in League of Nations Committee of official and semi-official delegates and schemes.
7.		Complaints of <i>Times</i> as to secrecy.
10.	7.	Meeting of B.E.D.
	8.	Meeting of B.E.D.
		S.W.C. appoint Supreme Economic Council (S.E.C.).
		Question of German threats and renewal of Armistice.
		Lloyd George returns to London.
13.	11.	Ebert President of Germany.
14.	13.	Decision to have an Armistice which will be a 'Preliminary Peace', announced and approved in <i>Times</i> . Germany to be disarmed.
15.	14.	<i>Third Plenary Conference</i> discusses draft Report of League of Nations. Text published. Emir Feisul asks about Secret Treaty of 1916.
		President Wilson leaves Paris, lands at Boston, Feb. 24.
		S.W.C. first raises Russian question.
17.	14.	President Wilson told American journalists League had made 'Freedom of Seas' unnecessary, because there would be no neutrals.
		Renewal of Armistice signed after protest.
19.	16.	<i>Times</i> gives terms of Foch's report.
20.	19.	Appeal by Yugo-Slavs to President Wilson to arbitrate on Fiume question.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

13

<i>'Times'</i>	<i>Date.</i>
1919.	1919.
Feb. 21.	Feb. 19. Attempt to assassinate M. Clemenceau. Question of strategical frontier on Rhine raised.
22.	21. Decision to recognize the Polish Government. 21. Kurt Eisner, Bavarian Premier, assassinated.
24.	23. (Sunday.) Commissions to report not later than March 8. 'Preliminary Peace' idea.
25.	24. 'Peace through Armistice.' 'The armistice was found capable of containing all the elements of a preliminary peace.' Did not contemplate Eastern frontiers to be included. Question of demilitarizing left bank of Rhine raised.
Mar. 6.	Mar. 5. Situation in Germany a spur to Allies. Peace at beginning of April reported as probability. President Wilson sails for France.
7.	Lloyd George returns to Paris.
7.	6. 'This afternoon's meeting perhaps most important since armistice.'
8.	7. Deadlock at Spa over handing over ships. Lloyd George's criticisms on Peace Terms.
11.	8. General Plumer's telegram as to the necessity of feeding Germany.
14.	13. Armistice discussions resumed at Brussels. 14. President Wilson arrives in Paris.
17.	16. New armistice agreed. <i>Food to be sent to Germany.</i> <i>Times</i> strongly against League of Nations in Preliminary Treaty.
18.	17. First meeting of S.E.C. Letter dated 17th from Wilson, Clemenceau, and Orlando asking Lloyd George to stay in Paris. Idea that League should be in the Peace getting accepted.
19.	18. Lord Robert Cecil issues a statement that inclusion of League in Peace Treaty would not delay Treaty, and was essential to it because of number of things in Treaty which referred to the League.
19.	Montagu made chairman of Financial Commission on March 13.
21.	19 and 20. <i>Times</i> gives exact details of military and naval terms. 19. S.W.C. orders both Ruthenes and Poles to cease hostilities. N.B.—Ruthenes accept and Poles refuse. 20. Lloyd George stated to be necessary in Paris. 20. French Press, backed by <i>Times</i> , getting impatient.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'</i> . 1919.	Date. 1919.	
		Council of Ten rejects Polish Commission report on Danzig point.
		Informal conversations with General Allenby. Allenby leaves.
		League of Nations consults Neutrals.
		Colonel House says it is not Preliminary Peace, but <i>the</i> Peace.
Mar. 22.	Mar. 21.	Allenby made Special High Commissioner for Egypt.
		Uncertainty at Paris as to form of the Peace.
	21.	Outbreak of Béla Kun's Communist revolution at Budapest.
23.	21.	Reuter message says Italians will withdraw from Conference, if not given Fiume.
23.	22.	Polish Commission reports back to Council of Ten its original proposals.
24.	23.	Attack on Lloyd George's attitude towards Poland.
		Mission to Syria announced. Attacks of 'Pertinax' in <i>Echo de Paris</i> .
25.	24.	Plan for Fiume reported to be discussed. (Sunday.) 'Probably no Council of Ten this week.'
		'Informal discussions' between Chief Delegates. Attacks in French Press on 'dilly-dallying'. Special meeting of four Chiefs and Foch (S.W.C.) to consider Hungary.
		French newspaper criticism of Syrian Mission (<i>Temps</i>).
		Memorandum signed by one hundred members asking Bonar Law for right to discuss Germany's liability and capacity to pay.
26.	25.	Decision to make 'Council of Four' announced. <i>Times</i> approves, but attacks Lloyd George for protesting about attacks on him in Polish question, and demands greater publicity.
27.	25.	Franklin-Bouillon attacked Clemenceau in Chamber on Rhine, reparation, and publicity, and also Great Britain on Syria.
28.	27.	Council of Four work with themselves and Mantoux; Secretaries in ante-room. Supposed to have finished first draft of Treaty. Delegates at Paris now include Armenians, Letts, Albanians, Kurds, Esthonians, Irish, Lebanesc, and Ukrainians, also two Poles from Drawa and Spiebs.
29.	28.	Meeting of Council of Foreign Ministers announced (The Five). Council of Four working in complete secrecy. French Memorandum on Saar Valley of 27th March discussed by 'Big Four' (<i>L'Illustration</i> , 29th May and 12th June, 1920).

'Times'. *Date.*
1919. 1919.

- Germans refuse to allow General Haller's Polish troops to pass through Danzig ; negotiations at Spa.
- Mar. 31. Mar. 30.** (Sunday.) 'Peace Conference's gravest hour' ; discusses problems on which 'compromise impossible'. France's demands for the Rhine. French ownership of Saar Valley coal accepted by Wilson.¹
- Apr. 2. Apr. 1.** Demilitarization of left bank of Rhine said to be decided by Council of Four, also exploitation of Saar mines.
- Lord Robert Cecil interviews Paris Committee of Berne Socialist Conference at Hotel Astoria.
- 3.** 2. *Times* says Council contemplate a deal with Bolshevism in Russia.
- General Smuts to go to Hungary.
- 4.** 3. King Albert has long conversations with Chief Plenipotentiaries ; returned to Belgium on 5th. Left bank of Rhine question referred to Tardieu, Haskins, Headlam-Morley. Inter-Allied Commission set up to arrange Armistice between Ruthenes and Poles.
- 5.** 4. Council of Four hear Orlando and Trumbitch on Fiume on the 3rd. Orlando not present when latter heard.
- Times* supports French and attacks Lloyd George. President Wilson indisposed and confined to bed. Meeting in room next door.
- Circular note sent to Commissions, asking for their reports to be ready by April 7.
- 5.** Bavaria established a Soviet for three weeks in imitation of Béla Kun.
- 7.** 6. Haller's troops to pass through Germany, but, if possible, not via Danzig. Lloyd George giving interviews to French Press, and asking for a little more time.
- Times* on Lloyd George, 'thinking of his position at home all the time'.
- Paderewski, the Polish Prime Minister, arrived in Paris with Noulens and Sir E. Howard. President Wilson's health improved.
- Financial Committee announces its report is ready. Failure of Smuts's Mission at Budapest.
- R. S. Baker accuses Clemenceau in Press of annexationist views.
- 8.** 7. Lloyd George indisposed and confined to bed.

¹ According to M. Tardieu, *L'Illustration* (29th May and 12th June, 1920). He also states that on the 31st March Clemenceau instructed him to protest to the other Allies that the French guarantees were insufficient as not including the Rhine frontier, the French ownership of the Saar mines, prohibition of union of Austria and Germany, and 'réparation intégrale'.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 'Times'. Date.
 1919. 1919.
- Apr. 8 Apr. 7. Reparation Committee announces it has accepted report on categories of damage.
- 9 8. Rumour that President Wilson's ship, *George Washington*, is ordered to Brest. Taken as 'a hint' in Paris. Note.—Date also given as 7th. Council of Four discussing reparation. M.P.s' telegram to Prime Minister asking for Germany to pay. Over 200 signatures; more to follow (370 in all).
10. 9. Prime Minister replies he will keep to his pledges. Telegram from Commons, protesting against agreement with Bolshevism. Reparation Committee accept report on Germany's capacity to pay. Decision to place Saar Valley under League of Nations.¹
11. 10. Protest against non-publicity of terms.
12. 11. Government reverse at Central Hull announced.
12. 10. League of Nations decide on Geneva as a capital. Monroe Doctrine reservation decided on.
12. 11. *Fourth Plenary Conference* discusses International Labour Convention.
14. 13. Forecast of Peace Terms in *Times*.
14. Clemenceau says reparation settled.
14. 12. Council of Four discuss Syria, and abandon idea of sending out a Commission.
14. Lloyd George returns to London.
15. 14. Official Communiqué. Germans invited on April 25. Other questions to be considered. Preference to be given to Adriatic questions, but Treaty with Germany to be signed first, though it is realized all questions are part of a single whole.
16. 15. Irish Delegates to see Colonel House.
17. 16. Lloyd George's speech in the House. Denies approaching Bolsheviks. 'Rather see Russia Bolshevik than Britain bankrupt.' 'Rather have a good peace than a good press.' Says publicity is impossible. Attacks *Times* and Northcliffe Press. Pichon says in Chamber of Deputies peace will not be published when given to Germany. President Wilson talks with Orlando on Adriatic question.
- Balts at Libau—with connivance of Germans—overthrow Lettish Government.
17. Lloyd George returns to Paris.
19. 18. Foch's interview with G. Ward Price. 'The Rhine the only safety.' War not over.

¹ According to Tardieu, *L'Illustration* (29th May and 12th June, 1920).

'Times'. 1919.	Date. 1919.	
		<i>Times</i> synopsis of the French Yellow Book. Seventeen main Committees split up into thirty sub-Committees.
Apr. 20. Apr. 17.	20.	Beginning of transport of Haller's Polish Army to Poland through Germany from France.
21.	20.	Germans say they will only send two secretaries to receive document, as discussion will not be allowed. Allies refuse, and say Germany must appoint Plenipotentiaries.. Foch, C.I.G.S., and Gen. Bliss prepare plans to enforce peace on Germany if they refuse to sign. Constantinople and Fiume being discussed.
		Reparation Committee adopted report of its third sub-Committee under Lord Cunliffe, on enemy's capacity to pay.
22.	20.	Collapse of Soviet Government at Munich.
22.	21.	Germans agree to send six Delegates.
22.	21.	Wilson withdraws from Adriatic discussions.
		Crisis on Fiume. Idea of Alliance between England, U.S.A., and France mooted in <i>Times</i> . Saar Valley terms outlined.
		Supreme Council approves establishment of German Commission near Paris to deal with S.E.C.
22.	Deadlock over Adriatic continues.	U.S.A. representative at Cairo communicated Note recognizing British Protectorate over Egypt.
23.	Sir S. McMahon and Commander Hogarth announced as British members of Syrian Commission.	
24.	23.	<i>Wilson publishes a statement re Adriatic.</i> Italians decide to leave Paris. Lloyd George tries to mediate.
		S.W.C.'s Note to Germany <i>re</i> von der Goltz's activities in Baltic.
25.	24.	Orlando with Barzillai, Diaz, Salvago-Raggi, left Paris to consult his colleagues and Parliament. Meeting of the Four at Lloyd George's before his departure. Open rupture avoided. Stated that Wilson's statement was known to Italians ten days before.
		French Press supports Italians mostly (not Gauvain).
		S.E.C. withdraws black lists.
26.	25.	Sonnino refuses to attend Council of Four, and Italian representatives refuse to take part in Peace Treaty.
28.	26. (Saturday.)	(Report of Responsibilities Commission that Kaiser is not to be tried.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 'Times'. Date.
 1919. 1919.
- Apr. 29. Apr. 28. *Fifth Plenary Session.* Revised Covenant of League of Nations adopted, and International Labour Convention.
 Sir Eric Drummond to be Secretary.
 Japanese amendments all withdrawn.
 South American Delegates speak at length; cause restlessness. Labour points also passed.
 Full text of Covenant printed in Press.
 S.E.C. abolishes licences for export of food to Germany from neutrals.
30. 29. Arrival of First German Delegates.
 Special appeal of Belgian Prime Minister, M. Delacroix, to Council of Threc.
30. 29. Orlando's speech in Chamber. Hints of his negotiation with President Wilson. Discussed from April 14 to 23, when Orlando said would discuss with his Allies. Then 'bombshell of Manifesto' necessitated his return to Italy.
- May 1. 30. Arrival of Count Brockdorff-Rantzaus.
 Japanese claim to Shantung conceded.
1. 2. May 1. Wilson's Fiume document of April 14 published.
 Credentials exchanged with Germans. Delay in handing over Peace Terms.
 Munich recaptured from Reds.
5. 4. Unsettled points in the Treaty—Egypt.
6. 5. Italians return to sign Treaty; leave for Paris.
 Belgians decide to sign.
7. Summary of Peace Terms published in *Times*.
 (A good forecast.)
7. 6. *Sixth Plenary Session* approves German Treaty.
 Press excluded. No final vote. Foch protests.
 Announcement of British recognition of independence of Finland.
8. 7. Peace Treaty presented to Germans at Trianon Palace Hotel.
 Announcement of Three Powers Treaty.
 Announcement of Disposition of Mandates to German Colonies. Belgian protest as to East African Mandate.
9. Afghan inroad into India officially announced.
 Sonnino in *Times* on 'An Anglo-Saxon Settlement'.
10. 9. Orlando attended Council of Four to discuss military terms for Austria-Hungary.
12. 10. First German Notes, *re* discussion of League of Nations.
12. 11. Further Notes, *re* Prisoners of War (P. of W.), Labour.
13. 12. Stated that ratification clause (three ratifications

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

19

<i>'Times'</i> .	<i>Date.</i>	
1919.	1919.	
		of Principal, Allied and Associated Powers sufficient) inserted at eleventh hour in the Treaty because of Italy.
May 14.	May 12.	Two German Delegates return to Germany to consult Government. Austrian Treaty stated to be ready.
15.	14.	Arrival of Austrians at St. Germain under Dr. Renner. Foch leaves for the Rhine. Plan for renewal of Blockade approved by S.E.C. Three Notes from Brockdorff-Rantzau.
16.	14.	Appointment of Baltic Commission. 15-17. Lloyd George's visit to the Rhine armies. 18. Adriatic deadlock continues.
20.	19.	Revision of 1893 Treaty discussed. Brockdorff-Rantzau returns to Spa.
21.	19.	Foch returns from Rhine.
21.		Poles defying Allies in the Ukraine. Further Notes from Germany and replies every day.
22.	20.	Brockdorff-Rantzau asks for extension, which is granted till May 29.
23.	21.	Orlando leaves Paris for Italy. 'Rhine Armies ready.'
23.		Notes dated 10th and replies 20th, <i>re</i> Prisoners of War, published. Independents in Berlin demonstrate in favour of signing P.T.
24.	22.	Germans leave for Spa to consult their Govern- ment, last Conference May 23.
26.	24.	Allied strong reply to German Economic Note. Note admitting German protest <i>re</i> Saar Valley payment in gold.
26.		Stated that Austrian Note is to be handed to Austria on the 28th.
27.	25.	Austrian protest at delay.
27.	26.	Question of Recognition of Koltchak. Chinese protest.
	27.	Summary of Polish Minority Treaty. Ultimatum to Poland.
29.		German counter-proposals announced in a tele- gram from Berlin dated the 27th.
30.	29.	Incomplete Austrian Treaty presented to a Seventh Plenary Sitting. German counter-proposals reach Council of Four. Reported agreement between Wilson and Orlando <i>re</i> Adriatic.
31.	30.	German counter-proposals comprise 443 pages. Germans publish full Treaty, including copies in English.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 'Times'.* *Date.*
1919. 1919.
- June 2. May 31. Reuter states Greeks have occupied Aidin.
 3. June 2. *Times* review of incomplete Austrian terms.
 Official Summary of Austrian Terms. (Military, Reparation, and Financial clauses reserved.)
 2. Terms presented to Austria.
 2. Announcements that Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes had been recognized by Great Britain, and also by France (already recognized by U.S.A.).
 5. 4. Lloyd George reported to be in favour of modifications of German Treaty, while Clemenceau and Wilson opposed.
 3 and 4. Brockdorff-Rantzaus visits Cardinal Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne.
 6. 5. Lloyd George denies having had communication with R. Macdonald and A. Henderson *re* Peace Terms.
 Attacked by *Times* for 'weakening'.
 5. (Berlin.) German Government abandoning idea of a plebiscite.
 4. (Coblenz.) Rhineland Republic question.
 7. 5. Hot debates in U.S.A. Senate on non-publication of Treaty.
 7. 6. Concessions probable in Silesia (plebiscite) on fixed sum.
 New Commission for East German frontiers (Headlam-Morley).
 Turkish Delegates to come to Paris.
 7. 6. Wilson (according to *Matin*) does not think Treaty violates Fourteen Points.
 7. Turkish Delegates leave for Paris.
 9. 8. German reply to Supreme War Council *re* Baltic affairs.
 10. 9. French Press violent against Concessions.
 Especial fear of German admission into the League.
 10. 9. Text published in United States by newspapers.
 Senate orders Treaty to be published by 47 to 24.
 10. 9. Six of ten Commissions of Reply have sent in reports.
 10. 8. Note from Allies to Béla Kun in Hungary asking him to cease offensive and virtually inviting him to Paris.
 11. 9. (Vienna.) Béla Kun's reply to Allies; accepts invitation, denies offensive.
 12. 11. Treaty Concessions on four points: (1) Fixing of total of reparations; (2) League of Nations admission at earlier date; (3) Plebiscites on Eastern frontier; (4) Occupation.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

21

‘Times’.	Date.
1919.	1919.
June 12.	June 10.
	(Berlin.) Brockdorff-Rantzaу declares to <i>Neue Freie Presse</i> he would never sign such a Treaty.
13.	12. A strong peace probable. Terms finished, but delay owing to new drafting.
14.	13. Commission for reply. Tardieu, Hudson (U.S.A.), Kerr, Vannutelli-Rey, and Saburi. Peace Treaty to be entirely re-written. ¹
14.	13. Text of Koltchak correspondence <i>re</i> recognition published.
	Supreme Council orders Béla Kun to withdraw within his permanent frontiers.
16.	Official summary of German reply published in Press.
17.	16. Allied reply presented to Germany by Dutasta. Text of covering letter published, and summary of the changes.
17.	16. Bonar Law, speaking at Guildhall, says Lloyd George represented view of whole delegation.
18.	16. Civil Convention with regard to Rhineland handed to Germans with reply. Text published.
18.	17. French Press agitated by concessions as to Germany’s admission to League of Nations.
18.	17. Turkish representatives heard by Council of Ten.
19.	17. Discussions at Weimar. ‘German public apathetic.’
20.	18. President Wilson in Belgium.
20.	18. (Berlin.) German Press against signing, with few exceptions. German Cabinet divided.
	Foch—instructed by Supreme Council—demands German retreat from Estonia, and evacuation of Libau and Windau.
21.	20. Scheidemann Cabinet resigns at 1.10 a.m.
21.	20. (Italians have rejected Adriatic compromise, and Orlando returned to Paris.) Italian Cabinet resigns, succeeded by Nitti as Prime Minister.
23.	21. Bauer forms a new Cabinet (Erzberger), which is ready to sign if articles are omitted as to Germany being author of war, and if she is not compelled to deliver up persons under Articles 227-330.
23.	21. German Fleet founders at Scapa.
23.	22. Council of Four reply to Germans. No reservations allowed; Brockdorff-Rantzaу leaves Versailles.
24.	23. Germans agree to sign. (Germans asked for extension, this request refused.)

¹ Tardieu, *L’Illustration*, 29th May, 1920, says he wrote a strong letter (10th June) to one of the five U.S.A. plenipotentiaries, and on the 18th France gained the day on all points. ‘Sur tous les points la France avait gagné de cause.’

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 'Times'.* *Date.*
1919. 1919.
- | | |
|------------|--|
| June 23. | Weimar Assembly passes signature by 237 to 138.
South German States stated to be governing factor. |
| June 26. | Difficulty of finding German delegates to sign. |
| 27. | Reported escape of Crown Prince from Holland. |
| 27. | Supreme Council authorizes Poles to advance in East Galicia. |
| 27. | Tittoni, Foreign Minister of Italy, to leave for Paris. |
| 28. | <i>Times</i> gives full text of Treaty. |
| 28. | Council of Three on Austrian Reparation. |
| 28. | Blockade to be raised when Germany ratifies. |
| 30. | Smuts protests against Treaty (issued 29).
Turkish delegates sent home. |
| 30. | Treaties of Alliance (France, Great Britain, U.S.A.) signed in morning. |
| 30. | <i>Treaty with Germany signed at Versailles.</i> ¹
Protocol Supplementary to Treaty of Versailles signed. |
| July 1. | Agreement as to Military occupation of Territories of the Rhine signed between U.S.A., Belgium, Great Britain, France, and Germany. |
| July 1. | Polish Treaty signed. |
| 30. | Lloyd George's first appearance in House of Commons after signing of Peace. Tremendous enthusiasm. |
| | Clemenceau tables Peace Treaty and Franco-British and Franco-American Agreements in French Chamber. |
| | Council of Five to conduct current business of Peace settlement now Council of Four is broken up. |
| | Summary of terms of Treaty between Allies and Poland published. |
| 2. July 1. | Meeting of Council of Foreign Ministers (the Five). Report that General von der Goltz has established martial law in Riga and proclaimed himself Governor-General. |
| | Hungarian troops begin evacuation of Czechoslovakia in accordance with Allies' Note. |
| 3. | Afghanistan Peace Delegates arrive at Jalalabad. |
| 3. | Lloyd George to make statement on Peace Treaty and Anglo-French Treaty in House. |
| 3. | General Botha leaves Southampton for South Africa. |
| 4. | Lloyd George's speech in presenting Treaty. He announces that Kaiser is to be tried by an Inter-Allied Tribunal sitting in London. |

¹ The Chinese Delegates refused to sign.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

23

<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
1919.	1919.	
		Terms of Franco-British and Franco-American Alliance Treaties published.
		M. Bratianu, Rumanian Premier, leaves Paris for Bucharest to resign office.
July 7.	July 6.	Thanksgiving services for Peace held throughout England.
7.		Reported declaration by Hindenburg that he takes responsibility for all acts of German Supreme Army Council since August 29, 1916.
7.		Telegram from Prince Eitel Friedrich of Prussia placing himself and four brothers at disposal of King George in place of his father.
7.		American delegates state that they knew nothing of trial of Kaiser in London until Lloyd George's statement.
8.		Hoped that complete Austrian Peace terms will be handed to Dr. Renner on July 9.
		Telegram from Hindenburg begging that Kaiser may be spared 'ignominious humiliation' of trial, and offering to surrender himself instead.
9.	8.	President Wilson arrives in New York.
10.	8.	Speech by President Wilson in New York, declaring America must live up to expectations other nations had formed of her.
10.		Changes made in Economic Clauses in response to representations by Austrian Delegation.
10.	9.	First reading of Treaty Ratification Bill passed in German National Assembly by 208 votes against 115.
11.	10.	President Wilson lays Treaty of Peace with Germany before Senate. Lays special stress on League of Nations Covenant.
11.	10.	Herr Ebert, German President, ratifies Peace Treaty, and document immediately sent by courier to Versailles.
11.	10.	Unlikely that Austrian Treaty will be handed to Austria before Monday or Tuesday (July 14 or 15).
15.	14.	Victory Fête in Paris.
		Bolshevik military communiqué reports Koltchak decisively defeated in Urals.
16.		Full text of Address by President Wilson to Senate on Peace Treaty published.
17.		Marshal Foch demands £40,000 compensation from Berlin for murder of French soldier, and £4,000 for victim's family.
17.	14.	Ekaterinburg reported occupied by Bolshevik forces.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
1919.	1919.	
July 18.		Smuts's farewell message; pleads for reconciliation between nations, policy of non-intervention in Russia, and consideration of Irish problem.
July 17.		General Franchet d'Esperey demanded resignation of Hungarian Government, which is reported as still trying to come to terms with Entente.
21.	19.	Victory March in London.
21.	20.	Revised and amended Austrian Treaty handed to Austrian Peace Delegates. Widespread labour troubles in U.S.A. Béla Kun's offensive against Rumanians.
		Germany protests against fine imposed for murder of French soldier.
23.	22.	Victory Review of Allied troops in Brussels.
24.		General Ironside reports mutiny of Russian troops on Archangel front due partly to realization that British evacuation has begun.
25.		General Ironside reports situation now stabilized, except on Onega front.
25.		Consternation in Vienna at terms of revised Austrian Treaty.
		Report of Baltic Commission of Peace Conference (P.C.) recommends neutralization of Aland Island under League of Nations.
31.	30.	Marshal Foch receives Baton of Field Marshal in London. Race riots in Chicago continue.
		War Office announces new offensive by General Denikin on Kharkoff-Poltava front.
Aug. 1.	31.	General Sir H. Rawlinson appointed to co-ordinate withdrawal of Archangel and Murmansk forces.
1.	31.	U.S. Senate public debate on Peace Treaty.
1.		German White Book issued containing documents relating to German request for Peace in October 1918.
		New German Constitution passed by Assembly by 263 to 75.
1.		Reported capture of Poltava by Denikin's troops.
2.		Summary of remainder of German White Book dealing with last ninety days of war.
4. Aug. 1.		Fall of Béla Kun at Budapest. Soviet Government succeeded by Socialist Democratic Government under Julius Peidl.
4.		American Delegates' last attendance on S.E.C.
		Supreme Council's decision that General Officer commanding French troops on Rhine shall be Commander-in-Chief of all Allied troops in Army of Occupation.

<i>'Times'</i> .	<i>Date.</i>
1919.	1919.
Aug. 4.	Open letter in <i>Hamburger Nachrichten</i> from Prince Henry of Prussia to King George asserting that British Government had for years prepared for world war.
4.	Aug. 1 and 2. Meeting of Supreme Economic Council to consider shortage of coal, food, and raw materials.
5.	Rumanian troops outside Budapest.
6.	Cecil Harmsworth denies accuracy of Erzberger's statement as to Vatican peace move in August 1917.
6.	Supreme Council decides to send Military Mission of 4 Generals to Hungary, and to raise blockade.
7.	Prime Minister receives Order of Merit for services during war and Peace Conference. Report that Rumanians have served ultimatum on Hungarian Government making demands far in excess of Armistice terms.
7.	General commanding Rumanians disarming all Hungarian troops.
8.	Resignation of Hungarian Socialist Government. Archduke Joseph installed (?) by Entente Mission State Governor with authority to form new Ministry.
9.	Telegram to Rumanian Government from Allies pointing out grave breaches of Armistice committed by Rumania, and requesting them to obey orders of Allied Mission.
9.	Proclamation at Budapest by Archduke Joseph calling for 'unity, understanding, and work'.
9.	Government of India announce Peace signed with Afghanistan at 11 o'clock.
14.	Report that return of Habsburgs viewed with grave misgivings by Czecho-Slovakia.
16.	Text of Anglo-Persian agreement signed August 9 published.
16.	Supreme Council's Note to Rumania pointing out that Hungary's assets are pledged to Allies, and Rumania is not allowed to appropriate them for her exclusive use.
18.	New Cabinet being formed in Hungary under M. Friedrich. Two portfolios still unfilled pending decision of Socialists to take part in Government.
18.	General von der Goltz recalled by German Government from Lettland.
18.	Criticism of Anglo-Persian agreement in <i>Temps</i> and other Paris newspapers.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
	1919.	1919.
		Bill establishing Labour Councils passes German Assembly.
Aug. 20.	Aug. 19.	Interview between President Wilson and Senate Foreign Committee at White House.
20.	18.	Polish rising against Germans in Upper Silesia. 70 per cent. of miners and workmen on strike.
26.		Rejection of Shantung clause of the Peace Treaty by Foreign Relations Committee of U.S. Senate.
27.		Reported compromise solution of Fiume question, giving town to Italians and leasing to League of Nations 'free port of Fiume, together with Porto Baross' for 99 years. Awaiting President Wilson's decision.
27.		Officially announced that Odessa has been occupied by General Denikin's troops.
27.	25.	Further messages from Supreme Council to Rumania warning her that all requisitions on Hungary must cease.
28.		Allied Commission to Upper Silesia begins inquiry into origin of risings in Upper Silesia.
29.	27.	Death of General Botha, succeeded as Prime Minister by General Smuts.
30.	28.	Resolution of Supreme Council that German prisoners are to be repatriated at once without waiting for ratification of Peace Treaty, conditional on the fulfilment of Germany's obligations.
Sept. 1.	30.	Attack on Peace Treaty by Senator Knox in American Senate urging its rejection.
2.	Sept. 1.	Opening of special session of Canadian Parliament by Governor-General called to ratify Peace Treaty.
3.	2.	Text of covering letter accompanying revised text of Austrian Treaty and reply to Austrian counter-proposals handed to Dr. Renner. Allies prepared to modify economic terms but not to accept Austria's plea that she should not be treated as an enemy, in view of dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.
3.	2.	Resolution for ratification of P.T. carried by New Zealand Parliament in both Houses.
3.	2.	Bitter comments in French Press on attitude of British officials in Syria.
3.	2.	Ultimatum to Germany demanding elimination of Art. 61 of German Constitution providing for admission of Austrian Deputies to German Imperial Council, this being contrary to terms of P.T. Fifteen days granted in which to suppress Article.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

27

<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
1919.	1919.	
Sept. 4.		Publication of reserved clauses (Financial, Political, Reparation, Military) of final text of Austrian Treaty.
4.	Sept. 2.	Speech by M. Tardieu in French Chamber in defence of P.T. and of alliance with Britain and U.S.A.
4.	2.	Debate in Canadian Parliament on P.T.
4.	3.	Decision of Supreme Council to send Envoy to Bucharest with ultimatum to Rumanian Government, as no answer has been received to Notes addressed to it.
5.	4.	Opening of President Wilson's western tour to support P.T. Speech at Columbus, Ohio.
5.		Extension to Sept. 9 of time in which Austria must make known her decision as to signature of P.T.
5.	2.	Occupation of Kieff by General Denikin's forces.
5.		Ultimatum to Rumania withdrawn owing to fact that the Allied Notes had not been received by Rumania, on account of wireless breakdown. Sir G. Clerk to go to Bucharest with copy of Allied Note and with fresh Note warning Rumanian Government to obey Peace Conference.
6.	4.	U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee send back Treaty to Senate with four amendments and several reservations.
6.	5.	P.T. ratified by Canadian Senate.
6.	5.	German answer to Allied Note <i>re</i> Art. 61 of German Constitution.
6.	4.	New Hungarian Cabinet formed under Heinrich, complete September 8.
		Rumanian Note to Supreme Council asking for modification of Art. 60 of Austrian Treaty, as Rumania is unwilling to sign Treaty of which she does not know terms.
8.		President Wilson continues his western tour, speaking at St. Louis and Kansas City.
8.		Austrian National Assembly, after resolution of protest, authorizes Dr. Renner to sign Treaty. Signature to take place on 10th.
8.		German Government Note to Entente, stating delay in evacuation of Courland due to insubordination among troops under General von der Goltz.
9.	8.	Decision of Supreme Council that Rumania must sign Austrian Treaty unconditionally, without any reservations.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'</i>	<i>Date.</i>
1919.	1919.
Sept. 9.	Grave industrial trouble in Egypt, fermented by Nationalists for political ends.
9.	President Wilson in speech at Omaha said reservations proposed to acceptance of Treaty were unnecessary, and Treaty must stand or fall as it is written.
10. Sept. 8.	Union of S. Africa charged with Mandate for German S.W. Africa. (Published as Parliamentary Paper.)
10. 9.	General Allenby arrives in Paris in order to be present at discussions on Syrian affairs.
10.	Early occupation of Upper Silesia by Entente troops recommended by Allied Military Commission as result of its inquiries among insurgent refugees.
10.	Doubt expressed as to whether Czecho-Slovak and Yugo-Slav Governments will sign Austrian Treaty owing to problem of Teschen and Macedonia.
10. 8.	M. Heinrich having failed to form new Cabinet, announces that M. Friedrich will prepare elections.
10. 9.	Speech by President Wilson in Minnesota denouncing pro-German activities against League of Nations.
10. 10.	Bolshevik report that Peace negotiations between Estonia and Soviet Russia will be opened at Pskoff.
10.	Address presented to Lloyd George as to importance of recognizing ties of affection binding together the Mohammedan world and the Sultan of Turkey, and pleading that Turkish sovereignty may not be abolished in Asia Minor and Thrace.
11. 10.	<i>Austrian Peace Treaty signed at St. Germain.</i>
11.	German Note to Allies complaining of agitation against Germany in irresponsible Polish circles with regard to recent happenings in Upper Silesia.
12.	Statement by Mr. Churchill that decision to withdraw British troops from North Russia is irrevocable and is being carried out without delay.
12.	Mr. Balfour retires from Peace Conference, succeeded by Sir E. Crowe on Council of Five.
12.	Motion for ratification of P.T. carried in S. African Union House of Assembly by 84 votes to 19.
13.	Ratification of P.T. by Canadian House of Commons.

'Times'. Date.

1919. 1919.

- Sept. 13. Sept. 11. Bill for conferring Mandate to administer S.W. Africa on Union of S. Africa introduced in Union Assembly by General Smuts.
13. 11. Minority report of Foreign Relations Committee urging early ratification of Treaty presented to U.S. Senate by Senator Hitchcock.
15. Statement by Mr. Bullitt (member of U.S. Peace Delegation) to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations as to secret history of Prinkipo proposal and subsequent overture of peace with Bolsheviks, conveyed by him from Paris to Russia.
15. 12. Reported entry of d'Annunzio into Fiume with band of volunteers.
15. S.W. African Mandate accepted by Union Assembly.
15. 13. Resignation of M. Bratianu, Rumanian Premier. In letter of explanation says he is dissatisfied with division of Banat, which was assigned intact to Rumania by Treaty of 17th August, 1916.
16. Reported that Conference at its meeting on 15th decided in favour of evacuation of Russia, leaving Russian people to work out own salvation.
16. Denial of Bullitt's account of private conversations, etc., by the Prime Minister, published by Press Association and in Paris.
16. Report that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have agreed to open peace negotiations with Bolsheviks.
16. 15. Debate on P.T. begins in U.S. Senate.
17. 16. The Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Milner, and Mr. Churchill return to London from Paris.
17. Report that negotiations between Estonians and Bolsheviks have begun and that meetings of Letts, Lithuanians, and Estonians have taken place with object of forming Baltic Alliance and making peace with Bolsheviks.
- Temps* gives general lines of Anglo-French Agreement in regard to the Levant.
18. French and Italian denials of statement made by British Delegation that Conference at its meeting on 15th had agreed that intervention in Russia should cease. American Delegation states that matter was not considered at meeting.
18. Statement by Estonian Minister for Foreign Affairs that satisfactory peace with Bolsheviks can only be obtained if all states situated

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
	1919.	1919.
Sept. 18.		within former Russian frontiers join together in discussion.
18. Sept. 17.	Bullitt reaffirms accuracy of evidence given by him before Foreign Relations Committee of U.S. Senate, and quotes what he describes as hitherto unpublished documents.	French Press comment favourably on Anglo-French Agreement with regard to the Levant.
19.	Estonian Government requests Great Britain to send representative to confer with Baltic States on subject of joint negotiations with Soviet.	19. Draft Treaty of Peace handed to Bulgarian Delegation.
19.	18. Telegram from Finnish Government declining to negotiate with Soviet Government.	20. S.E.C. meeting at Brussels appoints consultative Food Committee.
20.	22. German chief Delegate signs Declaration that no article in German Constitution is valid if contrary to Treaty of Peace (cf. September 5).	22. Report that Estonian negotiations for peace with Soviet have been broken off.
22.	Report that Crown Council of Italy has been called to discuss action of d'Annunzio in regard to Fiume.	25. Sovereignty over Spitzbergen granted to Norway by Supreme Council.
26.	27. President Wilson compelled to abandon his tour through illness.	27. At sitting of Crown Council Signor Nitti explained attitude of Peace Conference towards Fiume question, pointing out that it could not regard occupation as settling future of town, since such recognition would encourage other nationalities to take like measures in regard to disputed territory.
27.	30.	27. Allied Note to Germany demands immediate withdrawal of German troops from Baltic provinces, and declares that until this is done Allies will not consider German Government's demands for food supplies and raw materials.
Oct. 1.		Allied evacuation of Archangel completed.
		Reported that General von der Goltz has been finally recalled from Baltic provinces.
		Allied Note as to Baltic provinces received with dismay in Berlin.
Oct. 2.	4.	French Chamber ratifies P.T. 372 to 52. President Wilson seriously ill.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

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<i>'Times'</i> .	<i>Date.</i>	
	1919.	1919.
Oct. 6.		Thirty amendments to P.T. proposed by Senator Fall to exclude American representatives from Peace Commissions defeated in U.S. Senate.
		Report that two battalions of infantry have joined d'Annunzio's forces.
		Proclamation issued by German Government to General von der Goltz, pointing out consequences to Germany if order to evacuate is not complied with.
8. Oct. 7.	<i>Italy ratifies P.T. by Royal Decree.</i>	
		Marshal Foch instructed by Supreme Council to prepare a reply to German Note answering Allied demand for immediate evacuation.
9.	8. Herr Haase, German Deputy, wounded in front of Reichstag.	
		Outline of proposals under consideration between German and Russian negotiators for formation of 'Western Russian Government' published.
		Paderewski arrives in London for purpose of urging on British Government views of his Cabinet with regard to future status of Eastern Galicia.
10.	10. In the terms under discussion between German and Russian negotiators, Germany asked for a treaty which would amount to a German commercial protectorate over Russia.	
		General Denikin has forced the Red troops from several positions on the Don below Voronezh and is advancing on Orel.
11.	10. <i>King George V signed the Peace Treaty, and the instrument of ratification was dispatched to Paris.</i>	
		Further delay in the ratification of the P.T. in the United States appears certain.
		A new Note to Germany again threatens coercive measures if the German troops are not brought back from the Baltic provinces.
13.	11. German reply <i>re Scapa Flow.</i>	
	12. <i>The P.T. Bill signed by President Poincaré.</i>	
		The German troops of the so-called West-Russian Government have advanced to the suburbs of Riga.
		The Allies' Note to Berlin, dealing with the failure to secure the withdrawal of von der Goltz's troops, refuses to accept the German Government's explanations, and announces a Commission to control the evacuation.
14.	12. General Denikin's troops are within six miles of Orel, and have captured 5,000 prisoners.	

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 'Times'.* *Date.*
 1919. 1919.
- Oct. 12. The German force, which captured the suburbs of Riga, is now crossing the Dvina to march against the Bolsheviks.
 - 12. The last transport conveying British troops sailed from Murmansk, completing the evacuation of North Russia.
 - Oct. 15. General Yudenitch's Russian Army is marching rapidly on Petrograd.
 - 16. 14. General Denikin reports further striking victories. He has captured Orel and several thousand prisoners.
 - 12. General Annenkoff, one of Koltchak's commanders, has captured 33,000 Bolshevik prisoners in Eastern Turkestan.
 - 15. Lettish and Estonian troops have driven Colonel Bermont's force of Russo-Germans back over the Dvina.
 - General Denikin reports further successes in the Volga-Don region.
 - 16. It is now announced that on Oct. 9 the Supreme Council sent a Note to Germany and certain neutral Powers, asking for their collaboration in ensuring a blockade of Soviet Russia.
 - 18. 17. The Austrian Government resigned after passing the P.T. Ratification Bill without a debate.
 - 17. General Yudenitch is reported to be about thirty miles from Petrograd.
 - 20. 19. General Yudenitch's troops have reached the outskirts of Petrograd.
Clemenceau defines his attitude towards Germany in the Senate.
 - 21. 20. The Bolsheviks are preparing for a siege of Petrograd. General Denikin has recaptured Kieff and defeated Bolshevik attacks.
 - 20. German evacuation of Lithuania begun.
 - 21. Publication of a British memorandum to the Supreme Council, *re* the illegal sale to the Dutch of certain German merchant vessels, and calling upon Germany to hand over the ships.
 - 21. General Denikin's Caucasus Army has gained a brilliant victory on the Volga front, capturing over 3,000 prisoners.
 - 21. Four Bolshevik destroyers attacked the British and Estonian vessels in Kuporia Bay.
 - 24. 22. More reservations to the P.T. have been reported to the United States Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee.
 - 23. Poland has signed a provisional treaty with

<i>'Times'</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
	1919.	1919.
Oct. 25.	Oct. 24.	Germany, the main feature of which is the exchange of Polish produce for German coal.
27.	25.	General Yudenitch has formally asked for Finnish help in his operations against Petrograd.
27.	25.	The prospect of a coal strike and a general railway strike is threatened in the United States.
	25.	President Wilson's supporters threaten to reject the whole P.T. if undesirable reservations are passed by the Senate.
	26.	A determined struggle is reported about twenty miles from Petrograd, where General Yudenitch is making counter-attacks upon the Bolsheviks.
28.	27.	General Yudenitch fell back to a line covering Gatchina and the railway to Pskoff.
	27.	The United States Senate rejected an amendment proposing equal votes for the United States with the British Empire on the League of Nations.
29.	29.	The International Labour Conference established under the P.T. opened at Washington. No American delegates attended.
	28.	The Fiume problem has reached a complete deadlock, President Wilson rejecting Signor Tittoni's scheme.
30.	28.	Finland refuses to aid General Yudenitch.
	29.	The last of the amendments to the P.T. proposed by the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate was defeated.
31.	30.	General Yudenitch, having successfully beaten off many Bolshevik attacks, again advanced towards Krasnoe Selo.
31.	30.	The German Government issued a note refusing to take part in the proposal to blockade Soviet Russia.
	29.	The Russian Soviet Bureau of New York has made arrangements to send supplies to the Bolsheviks.
Nov. 1.	31.	In the United States a strike of 485,000 coal miners started. An injunction from Washington was issued forbidding the miners' leaders to issue strike orders and pay.
Nov. 1.		Allies demand Germans should sign Protocol of Treaty and give reparation for Scapa Flow incident.
3.	2.	Mr. W. B. Wilson was appointed President of the International Labour Conference at Washington.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

'Times'.	Date.
1919.	1919.
Nov. 5.	Nov. 4. Admiral Koltchak has agreed to the conditions for Finnish intervention. General Yudenitch retired along his whole front.
4.	The Supreme Council informed the Netherlands that it will not recognize the Dutch ownership of German vessels purchased after the outbreak of war. Germany has protested against the Commission's reading of the P.T. on this subject.
6.	An Allied Note to Germany demanded the surrender of a further five light cruisers and 400,000 tons of docks, tugs, and dredgers as the result of Germany's non-fulfilment of the Armistice terms.
M.	Clemenceau informed the Bulgarian Delegation at Paris that the Treaty must be accepted or rejected in its present form within ten days.
7.	The Finnish Government has declined the appeal for assistance against the Bolsheviks. Admiral Koltchak's army retreated along the whole front, Yudenitch's retreat also announced.
8.	Protocol and Note sent to the German Government by the Supreme Council providing for the fulfilment of the unexecuted clauses of the Armistice which Germany must sign before the P.T. comes into effect.
10.	President Wilson is reported to have stated that should the reservations to the Treaty be passed by the Senate, he will give his support to Senator Hitchcock's plan for defeating ratification.
9.	The coal-miners' leaders in the United States were ordered to cancel the strike by Nov. 11.
11.	The position of General Yudenitch's forces is grave. The Red forces are now about 100 miles from Omsk, Admiral Koltchak's headquarters.
10.	President and Mme. Poincaré visited London.
12.	American miners' leaders obeyed the order of the Federal Court and issued an order to the unions to end the strike.
13.	The first instalment of dye-stuffs, which are being obtained from Germany under the Reparation Clauses of the P.T., is expected to be received shortly.
14.	The Bolsheviks announced a new advance against General Yudenitch in the direction of Narva.

- 'Times'.* *Date.*
 1919. 1919.
- Nov. 14. Nov. 14. The United States Senate passed the Reservation to Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which President Wilson declared would amount to rejection of the P.T.
- Nov. 15. 14. The Foreign Office announced that Mr. James O'Grady, Labour M.P. for East Leeds, is to negotiate with M. Litvinoff, representing the Soviet Government of Russia, the exchange of war prisoners.
 14. The State Department at Washington announced that the United States Government will not take part in any conferences in which delegates from Soviet Russia are present.
 14. The Bulgarian Delegation has stated its willingness to sign the P.T., but it registers a protest against the territorial clauses.
 14. Holland intends to become a party to the League of Nations.
 16. Election of new Parliaments in France, Italy, and Belgium.
 17. 16. General Yudenitch has resigned the command of the Russian North-West Army, and has been succeeded by General Laidoner, the Estonian Commander-in-Chief.
 Omsk, the seat of Admiral Koltchak's Government, has been captured by the Bolsheviks.
18. 17. President Wilson has intimated that he will refuse to sign the P.T. with the reservations added to it by the Senate.
19. The seat of the Russian Government in Siberia has been transferred to Irkutsk.
 In the French elections the Socialists suffered a very heavy defeat.
 In the Italian elections the results show that the Socialists are leading.
20. 19. The resolution to ratify the P.T. with reservations was defeated in the United States Senate by 51 votes to 41.
 Election returns in Belgium show that the Socialists have gained at the expense largely of the Catholics.
 19. The Federal Government of Switzerland has pronounced in favour of joining the League of Nations.
21. 19. The United States Senate adjourned after failing to ratify the P.T. A motion was introduced declaring the war with Germany at an end; to come up for consideration next Session.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 'Times'. Date.
1919. 1919.
- Nov. 22. Owing to the continuance of the strike, the coal situation in the United States is very grave.
25. Nov. 23. A Coalition Cabinet has been formed at Budapest by M. Huszar, at the suggestion of the Allied representative, Sir George Clerk.
26. 25. Colonel Bermont's operations in the Baltic having come to an end, his troops are selling their arms and ammunition.
25. The Soviet Envoy Litvinoff held the first conference with Mr. O'Grady at Copenhagen.
25. A wireless message from Moscow proffers peace on condition that the Entente Powers shall not support any counter-revolutionary movement.
25. Herr Simson, Head of German Delegation, arrives in Paris to arrange the details of coming into force of P.T., and Scapa Flow incident.
27. 26. News has reached Paris that the Italian warships at Genoa and Smyrna have made common cause with d'Annunzio, and it is feared that collision with the Yugo-Slavs leading to war may occur.
28. 27. *M. Clemenceau presided at the ceremony of signing the Bulgarian Treaty at Neuilly.*
29. 28. All German warships in the hands of the Allies are to be scrapped, except certain vessels to be assigned to Italy and France as compensation for the reduction of their tonnage.
- Dec. 1. 29. In reply to the Allied demands as the result of the scuttling of the German fleet, the German Government pleads that Admiral von Reuter acted in accordance with 'seamen's usage', and it repudiates the Allied demands.
- Dec. 1. On the report of Sir George Clerk, the Supreme Council decided to recognize the Hungarian Government.
2. A general strike was proclaimed in Rome, Milan, and Florence.
3. Peace proposals from the Soviet Government were put forward to the Allies by M. Litvinoff at Copenhagen, and Colonel Malone, M.P., in London.
6. The seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets at Moscow passed a resolution reiterating its willingness to make peace with the Entente Powers.
8. Virtual Allied ultimatum to Germany *re* Scapa Flow incident.
9. Memorandum to Italy on Adriatic policy signed by British, French, and American representatives. End of U.S.A. coal strike.

- 'Times'.* *Date.*
 1919. 1919.
- Dec. 11. M. Clemenceau arrived in London, and had conferences with the Prime Minister, and with Mr. Balfour and Lord Curzon.
- Dec. 11. 10. Rumania signs Austrian Treaty including the 'Minorities' clause.
11. 10. Germans decide to send a new Commission to Paris on question of delivery of dock material.
13. 13. It was announced that the Red Army has captured Poltava from General Denikin.
14. 14. M. Clemenceau left London for Paris.
15. 15. The German reply to the Allies' late Note was handed in. It was conciliatory in tone but reiterated the impossibility of complying with the demands for tonnage in dock materials. President Wilson issued a statement that he does not intend to compromise with the Republican leaders over the P.T.
17. 17. The capture of Kieff by the Red Army was announced in a Bolshevik bulletin.
17. 17. Anti-French disturbances have taken place near the Mesopotamia-Kurdistan frontier.
22. 22. A Bolshevik report states that at the taking of Novo Nikolaiesk 10,000 prisoners and much booty were captured from Admiral Koltchak. An attempt at a general strike in Egypt on the anniversary of the Proclamation of the Protectorate is said to have failed, owing to the Government officials and other classes of workers having refused to come out.
23. 23. M. Tchitcherin has notified the Polish Government that the Soviet Government is ready to open negotiations for an immediate peace. The Allied reply to the German Note on reparations for the Scapa Flow scuttling was handed to Baron von Lersner.
23. 23. M. Clemenceau made a declaration on foreign policy in the French Chamber. He asserted that there would be no negotiations with the Soviet Government, and emphasized the complete accord between France and Great Britain.
26. 26. Lettland and Lithuania have decided upon a single military control, under which they will continue the struggle against the Bolsheviks.
30. 30. It was reported that Japan and the American and British Governments had reached an agreement, whereby Japan is empowered to take the necessary military steps to check the Bolshevik advance in Siberia. Japan is

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'</i> .	<i>Date.</i>
1919.	1919.
	stated to be ready to send troops as far west as Lake Baikal.
Dec. 31.	Egyptian Nationalists have issued a reply to Lord Milner. They welcome the widening of the field of discussion, but declare that complete independence is their aim.
1920.	1920.
Jan. 3.	Jan. 2. A seven days' armistice and an agreement, recognizing Estonian independence, has been arranged between Estonia and the Bolsheviks.
5.	3. The Bolsheviks have captured Tsaritsyn, and thrust back Denikin's right. They are close to Taganrog, Denikin's former head-quarters; no effective resistance is made.
4.	3. Four thousand Communists, including many Russians, were arrested in the United States.
5.	4. Six Egyptian Princes of the Royal House have issued statements demanding complete independence.
6.	5. The Supreme Council have decided to insist on a minimum reparation of 300,000 tons from Germany for the Scapa Flow scuttling.
6.	5. During the recess of the United States Senate efforts have been made to find a way out of the Treaty <i>impasse</i> , but without success.
7.	5. Denikin's armies have been cut into two parts by the Bolsheviks, who are now at the Sea of Azov at Mariupol.
8.	The Bolsheviks have captured Taganrog, on the Sea of Azov, where Denikin had established his head-quarters.
8.	7. The Hungarian Peace Delegation has arrived in Paris.
8.	7. An agreement was announced between France and the Emir Feisul, whereby France consents to the creation of an Arab state, including Damascus, Homs, Hamar, and Aleppo, and the Emir acknowledges the French mandate for the whole of Syria.
9.	7. <i>The Times</i> correspondent states that the prospects of the United States ratifying the French Treaty are now virtually nil.
10.	9. A Bolshevik message reports the Red troops have captured Krasnoyarsk, and that 'the remnants' of Admiral Koltchak's First, Second, and Third Armies have surrendered.
10.	9. It is understood that the United States Administration favours an immediate referendum on the Treaty issue.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

39.

<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
1920.	1920.	
Jan. 12.	Jan. 10.	<i>The protocol of the P.T. was signed at Paris, and the state of war as between the Allies and Germany came to an end; French release German prisoners. The Allies undertook to reduce their demands for reparation, with regard to the Scapa Flow scuttling, to 300,000 tons or less, if the necessity is shown.</i>
13.	11.	The list of German war criminals, whose surrender is to be demanded by the Allies, has been reduced from 1,000 to 800.
	11.	Elections for the French Senate resulted in a victory for the National <i>bloc</i> . M. Poincaré obtained an almost unanimous vote in the Meuse department.
14.	13.	In Berlin a demonstration was made to protest against the Government Bill in regard to Employees' Councils. Before the Reichstag the demonstrators were fired upon by the military, and several persons were killed or wounded.
14.	13.	A proposal has been made that the Supreme Council in Paris shall now be replaced by a Council of Ambassadors. No decision has yet been reached.
14.	13.	The Supreme Council has decided upon certain modifications in the Hungarian Treaty.
15.	14.	The evacuation of Flensburg and other Schleswig towns by German officials is in progress.
15.	14.	M. Léon Bourgeois was elected President of the French Senate after a third ballot.
16.	15.	The Hungarian delegates received from the Allied and Associated representatives the terms of their peace treaty.
17.	16.	<i>The first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations was held in Paris under the presidency of M. Léon Bourgeois.</i>
17.	16.	A party of Democratic Senators have conferred with Senator Lodge to try to find a compromise set of resolutions which will secure the ratification of the Treaty.
17.	16.	M. Clemenceau has withdrawn his candidature for the Presidency of the French Republic. He was beaten by M. Deschanel by 408 votes to 389 in the preliminary congress.
17.	16.	A note to the Dutch Government for the extradition of the ex-Kaiser has been drafted in Paris.
19.	17.	M. Paul Deschanel was elected President of the French Republic. He obtained 734 votes out of 888 recorded.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
	1920.	1920.
Jan. 18.	18.	M. Clemenceau placed in the hands of M. Poincaré his resignation and that of his Cabinet. M. Millerand has been asked to form a Cabinet.
Jan. 19.	18.	Budapest was hung with black flags when the terms of the Hungarian peace treaty became known, and the whole city went into mourning. Supreme Council assigns to S.E.C. economic decisions <i>re</i> re-opening commercial relations with Russia.
	19.	A general strike of railwaymen over the whole of Italy was declared.
	20.	The Yugo-Slav delegates having replied that the Supreme Council's proposals for the settlement of the Adriatic question are unacceptable, the Council has declared that its solution must be accepted or the Treaty of London of 1915 will be put into force.
22.		It is stated that the whereabouts of Admiral Koltchak and the State treasure are still obscure. The temper of the Czechs suggests the possibility of the Admiral being given up to the revolutionaries.
22.	21.	Political agreement has been reached between Czechoslovakia and Austria as the result of Dr. Renner's visit to Prague.
	21.	<i>The Supreme Council held its last meeting; retirement of Clemenceau.</i> Henceforth an Ambassadorial Council will meet in Paris for the settlement of details of the German treaty, and the Prime Ministers of the Allied nations will assemble to deal with the larger problems as they arise.
		The Yugo-Slavs have agreed to refer once more to Belgrade the Supreme Council's proposals with regard to the Adriatic. The American Government announces that it intends to stand by the policy it has already enunciated.
	22.	The Allied Governments have recognized <i>de facto</i> the Armenian Republic of Erivan.
24.	23.	In reply to the Allied Note requesting the extradition of the Kaiser the Netherlands Government declines to give him up, stating that both the Dutch Constitution and the traditional right of asylum forbid compliance with the Allies' request.
	26.	The conference at Washington concerning the Treaty has been interrupted by an ultimatum from Extreme Republicans, who say that they will not agree to any modification of the Lodge reservations.
		General Denikin's Eastern Armies, holding the

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

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<i>'Times'.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	
1920.	1920.	line from the Don to the Caucasus, have again been forced to retire.
Jan. 24.	Satisfaction is expressed in Germany at the reply of Holland to the Allied Note on the extradition of the ex-Kaiser. American opinion is divided, while in Paris the attitude of Holland is somewhat sharply criticized.	
24.	Arrangements are being made for the election of the President of the German Republic on a democratic franchise.	
Jan. 27.	26. Senator Lodge has announced that the Republicans will accept no change in the reservations in regard to Article X and the Monroe Doctrine. 26. Herr Erzberger was wounded by a shot fired at him by a student outside the Criminal Court in Berlin. 26. The Belgian High Commissioner made a solemn entry into Malmedy and Eupen. Allied troops have arrived in Flensburg and have taken over the administration of the plebiscite area.	
28.	26. A letter is published from the ex-Kaiser in which he complains of having been deceived by his Ministers, and stating that he has no desire to return to Germany.	
30.	29. The French Government has asked for explanations respecting the surrender of Admiral Koltchak. 29. According to the Yugo-Slav reply to the Allies' Note the Belgrade Government is prepared either to take a plebiscite on the Adriatic question or to submit the case to arbitration.	
31.	29. General Yudenitch has been arrested. 29. The Italian railway strike was settled. 31. In a letter to <i>The Times</i> , Viscount Grey explained the attitude of America to the League of Nations.	
Mar. 2.	U.S.A. Senate re-adopts Lodge Reservations to P.T.	
May 1.	Prince Regent of Serb-Croat-Slovene State ratifies German-Austrian-Bulgarian and Minority Treaties by decree. 16. Knox Joint-Peace Resolution with Germany, Austria, and Hungary passes U.S.A. Senate.	
	27. U.S.A. Senate rejects mandate for Armenia. President Wilson vetoes Knox Joint-Peace Resolution.	
July 17.	June 4. Hungarian Treaty signed. 16. Austria exchanges Treaty ratifications. 17. 16. <i>The Czecho-Slovak and Yugo-Slav representatives deposit the ratifications of their respective Minority Treaties.</i>	
Aug. 11.	Aug. 10. Turkish Treaty signed at Sèvres.	

APPENDIX I

THE GERMAN TREATIES WITH RUSSIA AND RUMANIA

NOTE.—It has been thought well to give the Treaties contracted by Germany with Russia and Rumania, 1918, in order that they may be compared or contrasted with that concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Germany, which immediately follows them.

PART I. RUSSIA AND GERMANY

THE POLITICAL TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK OF THE 3RD MARCH, 1918.¹

ARTICLE I. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, on the one part, and Russia, on the other part, declare the state of war between them terminated, and are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

ARTICLE II. The contracting nations will refrain from all agitation or provocation against Government or State and their existence, and they undertake the obligation to spare the population of the regions occupied by the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance.

ARTICLE III. (1) The regions lying west of the line agreed upon between the contracting parties and formerly belonging to Russia shall no longer be under Russian sovereignty. The line agreed upon appears in the appended Map No. 1, which, as agreed upon, forms an essential part of the Peace Treaty. The fixing of the line in the West shall be made by a mixed German-Russian Commission. The regions in question shall have no obligation whatever towards Russia arising from their former relations with that country.²

(2) Russia undertakes to refrain from all interference in the internal affairs of these territories and to let Germany and Austria decide the future fate of these territories in agreement with their populations.

ARTICLE IV. Germany and Austria agree, when a general peace has been concluded and Russian demobilization has been fully carried out, to evacuate the regions east of the line designated in Article III (1) in so far as Article VI does not stipulate otherwise.³ Russia will do everything in her power to complete as soon as possible the evacuation of the Anatolian provinces and their orderly return to Turkey.

The districts of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum shall likewise without delay be evacuated by Russian troops. Russia shall not interfere in the reorganization of the constitutional and international conditions

¹ The text, as given in *The Times*, from the German.

² The territory dealt with in this clause amounted to Poland, Courland, and Lithuania.

³ The regions to be thus evacuated comprised parts of the Governments of Minsk, Vitebsk, and Mogilyov.

of these districts, but shall leave it to the population of these districts to carry out the reorganization in agreement with the neighbouring States, particularly Turkey.

ARTICLE V. Russia will without delay carry out the complete demobilization of her Army, inclusive of the forces newly formed by the present Government.

Russia will further transfer her warships to Russian harbours and leave them there until the conclusion of a general peace, or immediately disarm them. The warships of the States continuing in a state of war with the Quadruple Alliance will be treated as Russian warships in so far as they are in Russian control.

The barred zone in the Arctic continues to be in force until the conclusion of peace.

An immediate start will be made with the removal of mines in the Baltic and, in so far as Russian power extends, in the Black Sea. Commercial shipping is free in these waters and will be immediately resumed. Mixed commissions will be appointed to draw up further regulations, especially for the announcement of routes for merchant ships. Shipping routes are to be kept permanently free from floating mines.

ARTICLE VI. Russia undertakes immediately to conclude peace with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the peace treaty between this State and the Quadruple Alliance. Ukrainian territory will be immediately evacuated by Russian troops and Russian Red Guards. Russia will cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Esthonia and Livonia will likewise be evacuated without delay by the Russian troops and Russian Red Guards. The Eastern frontier of Esthonia follows in general the line of the Narva river. The Eastern frontier of Livonia runs in general through Lake Peipus and Lake Pskov to the south-west corner of the latter, and then over Lake Luban in the direction of Lievenhov on the Dvina. Esthonia and Livonia will be occupied by a German police force until their security is guaranteed by their own national institutions and until their own State organization is restored. Russia will forthwith release all arrested or deported inhabitants of Esthonia and Livonia and will guarantee the safe return of all deported Esthonians and Livonians.

Finland and the Åland Islands will also forthwith be evacuated by the Russian troops and Red Guards, and the Finnish Ports by the Russian Fleet and the Russian naval forces. As long as the ice prevents the Russian warships from being brought into Russian ports, only small detachments will remain on board the vessels. Russia will cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions of Finland.

The fortifications erected on the Åland Islands are to be removed with all possible dispatch. A special agreement is to be made between Germany, Russia, Finland, and Sweden for the permanent non-fortification of these islands, as well as regarding other military and shipping matters. It is agreed that, at Germany's desire, other States bordering on the Baltic are also to be given a voice in the matter.

PART II. RUMANIA AND GERMANY

THE POLITICAL TREATY OF BUCHAREST OF THE 7TH MAY, 1918.¹

Paragraph 1 deals with the re-establishment of peace and friendship.

ARTICLE I. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, on the one hand, and Rumania, on the other hand, declare the state of war to be ended. The contracting parties are determined henceforth to live together in peace and friendship.

ARTICLE II. Diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after the ratification of the Peace Treaty. The admission of Consuls will be reserved for a further agreement.

Paragraph 2 deals with the demobilization of the Rumanian forces.

ARTICLE III. The demobilization of the Rumanian Army, which is now proceeding, will immediately after the Peace Treaty has been signed be carried out according to the prescriptions contained in Articles IV to VIII.

ARTICLE IV. The regular military *bureaux*, the supreme military authorities and all military institutions will remain in existence as provided by the last Peace Budget. The demobilization of Divisions 11 to 15 will be continued as stipulated in the Treaty of Focșani signed on the 8th March, 1918. Of the Rumanian Divisions 1 to 10, the two infantry divisions now employed in Bessarabia, including the *Jäger* battalions which are remnants of the dissolved *Jäger* divisions, and including two cavalry divisions of the Rumanian Army, will remain on a war footing until the danger arising from the military operations now being carried on in the Ukraine by the Central Powers ceases to exist. The remaining eight divisions, including their staffs and supreme authorities, shall be maintained in Moldavia at a reduced peace strength. Each division will be composed of four infantry regiments (three battalions each), two cavalry regiments (four squadrons each), two field artillery regiments (seven batteries each), one pioneer battalion, and the necessary technical troops and transport corps, the strength of which is to be fixed by further agreement. The total number of infantry in these eight divisions shall not exceed 20,000 men, the total number of cavalry shall not exceed 3,200, and the entire artillery of the Rumanian Army, apart from those divisions remaining mobilized, shall not exceed 9,000 men. The divisions remaining mobilized in Bessarabia must in case of demobilization be reduced to the same peace standard as that of the eight divisions mentioned in this Article. All other Rumanian troops which did not exist in peace time will at the end of their term of active military service remain as in peace time. Reservists, including men of the Calarash regiments, shall not be called up for training until a general peace has been concluded.

ARTICLE V. Guns, machine guns, small arms, parks of horses, cars, and ammunition, which are available owing to the reduction or dissolution of Rumanian units shall be given into the custody of the Supreme

¹ Text, as given in *The Times*, from the German.

Command of the Allied forces in occupied Rumania until the conclusion of a general peace. They shall be guarded and superintended by Rumanian troops under the supervision of the Allied Chief Command. The amount of ammunition to be left to the Rumanian Army in Moldavia is fixed at 250 rounds for each rifle, 2,500 for each machine gun, and 150 for each gun. The Rumanian Army is entitled to exchange unserviceable material at the dépôts of the occupied region in agreement with the Supreme Command of the Allied forces, and to demand from the munition dépôts the equivalent of ammunition already spent. The divisions in Rumania, which remain mobilized, will receive their ammunition requirements on a war basis.

ARTICLE VI. Demobilized Rumanian troops are to remain in Moldavia until the evacuation of the occupied Rumanian regions. Excepted from this provision are the military *bureaux* and men mentioned in Article V, who are required for the supervision of the arms laid down and the material handed over in these regions. Men and reserve officers, who have been demobilized, can return to the occupied regions. Active and formerly active officers require, in order to return to these regions, the permission of the Chief Army Command of the Allied forces.

ARTICLE VII. A General Staff officer of the Allied Powers with a Staff will be attached to the Rumanian Commander-in-Chief in Moldavia, and a Rumanian General Staff officer with a Staff will be attached as *liaison* officer to the Chief Command of the Allied Forces in the occupied Rumanian districts.

ARTICLE VIII. The Rumanian naval forces will be left their full complement and equipment, in so far as their crews, in accordance with Article IX, are not to be limited until affairs in Bessarabia are cleared up, whereupon these forces are to be brought to the usual peace standard. Excepted herefrom are the river forces required for the purposes of the river police and the naval forces in the Black Sea employed for the protection of maritime traffic and the restoration of mine-free fairways. Immediately after the signature of the Peace Treaty these river forces will, on the basis of a special arrangement, be placed at the disposal of the authorities entrusted with the river police. The Nautical Black Sea Commission will receive the right of disposing of the naval forces, and a Rumanian naval officer is to be attached to this Commission in order to restore connexion therewith.

ARTICLE IX. All men serving in the Army and Navy, who in peace time were employed in connexion with harbours of shipping, shall on demobilization be the first to be dismissed, in order that they may find employment in their former occupation.

Paragraph 3 deals with cessions of territory.

ARTICLE X. With regard to the Dobruja, which, according to Paragraph 1 of the peace preliminaries, is to be ceded by Rumania, the following stipulations are laid down :

1. Rumania cedes again to Bulgaria, with frontier rectifications, the Bulgarian territory that fell to her by virtue of the Peace Treaty concluded at Bucharest in 1913. (Here is attached a map showing the

exact extent of the frontier rectification. It forms an essential part of the Peace Treaty.) A Commission composed of representatives of the Allied Powers shall shortly after the signature of the Peace Treaty lay down and demarcate on the spot the new frontier line in the Dobruja. The Danube frontier between the regions ceded to Bulgaria and Rumania follows the river valley. Directly after the signature of the Peace Treaty further particulars shall be decided upon regarding the definition of the valley. The demarcation shall take place in the autumn of 1918 at low-water level.

2. Rumania cedes to the Allied Powers a portion of the Dobruja up to the Danube, north of the new frontier line described under Section 1. That is to say, between the confluence of the stream and the Black Sea to the St. George branch of the river. The Danube frontier between the territory ceded to the Allied Powers and Rumania will be formed by the river valley. The Allied Powers will undertake that Rumania shall receive an assured trade route to the Black Sea via Chernavoda and Constanza.

ARTICLE XI. Rumania agreed that her frontiers shall undergo rectification in favour of Austria-Hungary. (Here follows new frontier demarcation shown on map.) Two mixed commissions, to be composed of equal numbers of representatives of the Powers concerned, are immediately after the ratification of the Peace Treaty to fix the new frontier line on the spot.

ARTICLE XII. State property in the ceded regions of Rumania passes without indemnification to the States which acquire these regions. Those States to which the ceded territories fall shall make agreements with Rumania on the following points :

1. With regard to the allegiance of Rumanian inhabitants of those regions, a matter in which they are to be accorded the right of option.
2. With regard to the property of communes split by the new frontiers.
- 3 and 4. With regard to administrative and judicial matters.
5. With regard to the effect of changes of territories on dioceses.

Paragraph 4 deals with war indemnities.

ARTICLE XIII. The contracting parties mutually renounce the indemnification of their war costs. Special arrangements are to be made with regard to settlement of damages caused by the war.

Paragraph 5 relates to the prescriptions regarding the evacuation of the occupied territories.

In ARTICLES XIV to XXIV it is provided that occupied Rumanian territories shall be evacuated at times to be later agreed upon. The strength of the army of occupation shall, apart from formations employed in economic functions, not surpass six divisions. Until the ratification of the Peace Treaty the present occupation administration continues its existence, but immediately after the signature of the Peace Treaty the Rumanian Government has power to supplement the corps of officials by such appointments or dismissals as may deem

good to it. Up to the time of the evacuation a civil official of the occupation administration shall always be attached to the Rumanian Ministry in order to facilitate as far as possible the transfer of the civil administration to the Rumanian authorities. The Rumanian authorities must follow the directions which the commanders of the army of occupation consider requisite in the interest of the security of the occupied territory as well as the security, maintenance, and distribution of their troops.

For the present, railways, posts, and telegraphs will remain under military administration, and will, in accordance with proper agreements, be at the disposal of the authorities and population.

As a general rule, the Rumanian Courts will resume the jurisdiction in the occupied territories to their full extent. The Allied Powers will retain jurisdiction as well as power of police supervision over those belonging to the army of occupation. Punishable acts against the army of occupation will be judged by its military tribunals, as also offences against the orders of the occupation administration.

Persons can only return to occupied territories in proportion as the Rumanian Government provides for their security and maintenance.

The army of occupation's right to requisition is restricted to corn, peas, beans, fodder, wool, cattle, and meat from the produce of 1918, and further to timber, oil, and oil products, always observing a proper regard for an orderly plan of procuring these commodities, as well as satisfying the home needs of Rumania.

From the ratification of the Peace Treaty onwards the army of occupation shall be maintained at the expense of Rumania.

A separate agreement will be made with regard to the details of the transfer of the civil administration, as well as with regard to the withdrawal of the regulations of the occupation administration.

Money spent by the Allied Powers in the occupied territories on public works, including industrial undertakings, shall be made good on their transfer. Until evacuation, these undertakings shall remain under the military administration.

Paragraph 6 deals with the regulation of the Danube.

ARTICLE XXIV. Rumania shall conclude a new Danube Navigation Act with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, regulating the legal position on the Danube from the point where it becomes navigable, with due regard to the prescriptions subsequently set forth under Sections A to D and on condition that the prescriptions under Section B shall apply equally to all parties to the Danube Act. Negotiations regarding the new Danube Navigation Act shall begin in Munich as soon as possible after the ratification of the Peace Treaty.

A. Under the name 'Danube Mouth Commission' the European Danube Commission shall, under conditions subsequently set forth, be maintained as a permanent institution in the powers, privileges, and obligations hitherto appertaining to it for the river from Braila downwards, inclusive of this port. The conditions referred to provide *inter alia* that the Commission shall henceforth only comprise representatives of the States situated on the Danube or the European coasts

of the Black Sea. The Commission's authority extends from Braila downwards to the whole of the arms and mouths of the Danube and the adjoining parts of the Black Sea.

B. Rumania guarantees to the ships of the other contracting parties free navigation on the Rumanian Danube, including harbours. Rumania shall also levy no tolls on the ships or rafts of the contracting parties and their cargoes merely for the navigation of the river. Neither shall Rumania in future levy on the river any tolls save those permitted by the new Danube Navigation Act.

C. The Rumanian *ad valorem* duty of one-half *per cent.* on goods imported into and exported from that country's ports will be abolished at the latest five years after the ratification of the Treaty.

D. This section refers to the control of certain sections of the Danube by Austria-Hungary.

ARTICLE XXV. This Article relates to the property of the European Danube Commission in Rumania's possession.

ARTICLE XXVI. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Rumania have the right to maintain warships on the Danube. These may navigate down stream as far as the sea and up stream as far as the upper frontier of the ship's territory. They must not, however, enter into intercourse with the shore of another State or put in there except in case of *force majeure*, or unless the consent of the State in question be obtained through diplomatic channels. The Powers represented on the Danube Mouth Commission have the right to maintain two light warships each as guard ships at the mouth of the Danube.

Paragraph 7 deals with equal rights for religious denominations in Rumania.

ARTICLE XXVII. The same freedom and the same protection of the law and the authorities will be accorded in Rumania to the Roman Catholic, the Greek Uniate, the Bulgarian Orthodox,¹ the Protestant, the Moslem, and the Jewish religions as to the Rumanian Orthodox Church. They shall have the right to establish private schools. In all public and private schools the pupils may only be compelled to receive religious instruction from a qualified teacher of their own religion.

ARTICLE XXVIII. The diversity of religious belief shall not exercise any influence on the legal position of the inhabitants and especially on their civil and political rights. The principle laid down in paragraph 1 is also to be applied to persons in Rumania having no nationality, including Jews hitherto regarded there as foreigners. For this purpose, until the ratification of the Peace Treaty a decree will be proclaimed whereby all persons having no nationality, who participated in the war or who were born in and reside in the country and descend from parents born there, are to be immediately regarded as Rumanian subjects with full rights.

Paragraph 8. Final stipulations.

ARTICLES XXIX, XXX, AND XXXI. The economic relations between the Allied Powers and Rumania shall be regulated by separate

¹ Probably this means the Bulgarian Exarchist Church.

treaties to come into force at the same time as the Peace Treaty. The same applies to the restoration of public and private legal relations, the exchange of prisoners of war, interned civilians, &c. The instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Vienna as soon as possible, and the Peace Treaty shall come into force on its ratification.

SUMMARY OF THE PEACE OF BUCHAREST, THE 7TH MAY, 1918.

The long negotiations with Rumania during the spring of 1918 resulted in a series of documents constituting the Peace of Bucharest, a political treaty, legal and economic treaties, and petroleum, shipping and commercial conventions. The complete terms were thus exceedingly lengthy, but the main essentials consisted of the following conditions:

The southern half of the Dobruja, acquired by Rumania by the 1913 Bucharest Treaty, was ceded back to Bulgaria, together with frontier rectifications. The remainder of the Dobruja, up to the St. George's mouth of the Danube, was ceded to the Quadruple Alliance. (This condominium was due to the acute difficulties between Turkey and Bulgaria over Adrianople.) The Cernavoda-Constanza railway was to be an 'assured trade route' for Rumania. The whole crest of the Carpathians, and in a few places considerably more, was ceded to Austria-Hungary, which was thus placed in a position of complete strategic domination, besides gaining valuable timber and coal areas. German military and political control was egregiously ensured by most stringent articles in the political treaty. The Rumanian Army was to be completely demobilized, save, for the time being, two infantry and two cavalry divisions in Bessarabia. The evacuation by the Germans of occupied areas was only to take place 'at times later to be agreed upon'; meanwhile their army of occupation was to consist of not more than six divisions, 'apart from formations employed in economic functions'. The cost of maintenance, after the ratification of the Peace Treaty, was to be borne by Rumania, and very wide requisitioning powers were conferred. The German 'occupation administration' was virtually to continue to function, and German control over railways, posts and telegraphs, and other civil and judicial administration reduced Rumanian sovereignty almost to a farce.'

This servitude was rendered yet more complete by the economic and financial articles. All surplus grain for seven years from 1919 was to be at the disposal of the Central Powers; special arrangements were made as to the 1918 harvest. The great oil industry, which was of particular concern to Germany, being without oil of her own, was dealt with in such a way that both exploitation and export control were confined to two companies, predominantly controlled by Germany, and the possibility of Rumanian interference in their proceedings was practically non-existent. Imports from the Central Powers were guaranteed by modifications of previous tariffs, and full rights of acquiring property in Rumania were granted to German firms. In all the economic questions prices were so fixed as to favour Germany to the utmost extent, while the further enslavement of Rumanian finances was attained by two articles in the Legal Treaty, whereby the credits and deposits of the Rumanian National Bank at the German

Reichsbank were to be held as security for five years for the payment of the Rumanian public debt to German subjects.

Finally, a new Danube Navigation Act was to be concluded with the Quadruple Alliance, the general principles of which were laid down in the Political Treaty. Only riparian and European Black Sea States were to be members of the new 'Danube Mouth Commission', which was to replace the European Danube Commission in all its privileges, powers, and obligations. Rumania was to guarantee free navigation and use of her harbours, with no tolls for mere navigation, and even other tolls were to be regulated by the new Act. The contracting parties were to have the right of maintaining warships on the Danube, with rights of navigation down stream as far as the sea, but up stream only as far as 'the upper frontier of the ship's territory'. The net result of the new Act would have been to deprive Rumania of control over and profit from her main artery.

The only matters not dealt with to the disadvantage of Rumania were the Jewish and Bessarabian questions. Full religious and school rights were accorded the Jews, in company with all other religions in Rumania, and further members of all religions were to be assured in their legal and political rights, while the matter of Jewish nationality was trenchantly decided in their favour. There was nothing said in their treaties as to the annexation of Bessarabia, but acceptance of the position was implied and during the negotiations the Rumanians were given to understand that no objection would be made by the Central Powers to its annexation.

APPENDIX II

LEAGUE OF NATIONS DOCUMENTS

PART I

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES, ETC., SEPT.—DEC. 1918

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECH OF THE 27TH SEPTEMBER, 1918

‘As I see it the constitution of the League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part—in a sense the most essential part—of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy. It is not likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace, and peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought. . . .

‘We still read Washington’s immortal warning against “entangling alliances” with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights.’

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF LORD ROBERT CECIL AT BIRMINGHAM, 11TH NOVEMBER, 1918

‘. . . I am convinced, therefore, that the most important step we can now take is to devise machinery which in case of international dispute will, at least, delay the outbreak of war and secure full and open discussion of the causes of quarrel. For that purpose no very elaborate international machinery is required. All that would be necessary would be a treaty binding the signatories never to wage war themselves or permit others to wage war till a formal conference of nations had been held to inquire into and, if possible, decide upon the dispute. It is probably true, at least in theory, that decisions would be difficult to obtain, for the decisions of such a conference, like all other international proceedings, would have to be unanimous to be binding. But since the important thing is to secure delay and open discussion, that is to say, time to enable public opinion to act, and information to instruct it, this is not a serious objection to the proposal. Indeed, from one point of view, it is an advantage, since it avoids any interference with national sovereignty except the interposition of a delay in seeking redress by force of arms. That is the essential thing, and to secure it the treaty would require each of the signatories to use their whole force, economic as well as military,

against any nation that forced on war before a conference had been held. To that extent, and to that extent only, international coercion would be necessary.

' And here let me say that I attach very great weight to the use in this connexion of the economic weapon. For one thing, it would be easier to induce the weaker members of the League to cut off all intercourse with a powerful offender than to take the field against him. For another, the events of this war have shown that an international boycott would be extraordinarily effective. Hampered as we have been by the difficulties necessarily attaching to the novelty of our proceedings, and by the consequent remonstrances, especially in the earlier stages of the war, of neutrals whose interests were affected by them, we have still been able to do a good deal by our blockade and kindred operations. If all restrictions on the use of this weapon by the League were swept away and it were put in force, as by hypothesis it would be, by the whole or almost the whole of the countries of the world against one offender, it would mean certain and irretrievable ruin for that country. It may be hoped that such a menace would cool the ardour even of a German professor.

' It will be observed that in the plan thus outlined nothing has been said about national disarmament. It is indeed most true that without disarmament there can be no complete security against future war, and I earnestly wish that some really effective and trustworthy means may be found drastically to limit the armed forces of every State. The problem is a difficult one, and I have so far to admit that after giving considerable thought to the subject I have not yet come upon any plan for this purpose which seems safe and practicable. Failing such a plan we must trust that the nations will gradually disarm as and when the necessity for national armament disappears, just as in civilized countries men have ceased to carry swords and pistols. The thing to hope for and to work for is the habit of international goodwill. With this object, besides the big change here proposed, there are many other steps that should be taken. For instance, it is vital to any scheme of international peace that treaties should be rigidly observed, but treaties, like everything else, grow old. The conditions obtaining when they were first made do not last for ever, and when they change the existence of the treaties becomes irksome, and in some cases grossly unjust. The signatories of the League should therefore undertake periodical consultations for the purpose of reviewing obsolescent treaty obligations. So, too, that most thorny of all subjects, the control of backward races, should be solved if possible by international action, and there is probably a large and increasing field for international activity in dealing with certain social questions and other matters of more than national importance.

EXTRACTS FROM GENERAL SMUTS'S BOOK, *THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS*. 16th DECEMBER, 1918

' The question is, what new political form shall be given to these elements of our European civilization? On the answer to that question depends the future of Europe and of the world. My broad contention is that the smaller, embryonic, unsuccessful leagues of nations have been

swept away, not to leave an empty house for national individualism or anarchy, but for a larger and better League of Nations. Europe is being liquidated, and the League of Nations must be the heir to this great estate. The peoples left behind by the decomposition of Russia, Austria, and Turkey are mostly untrained politically ; many of them are either incapable of or deficient in power of self-government ; they are mostly destitute and will require much nursing towards economic and political independence. If there is going to be a scramble among the victors for this loot, the future of Europe must indeed be despaired of. The application of the spoils system at this most solemn juncture in the history of the world, a repartition of Europe at a moment when Europe is bleeding at every pore as a result of partitions less than half a century old, would indeed be incorrigible madness on the part of rulers, and enough to drive the torn and broken peoples of the world to that despair of the State which is the motive power behind Russian Bolshevism. Surely the only statesmanlike course is to make the League of Nations the reversionary in the broadest sense of these Empires. In this *débâcle* of the old Europe the League of Nations is no longer an outsider or stranger, but the natural master of the house. It becomes naturally and obviously the solvent for a problem which no other means will solve. . . .

' If we are deliberately deciding in favour of a peaceful régime for the future, it seems to me a fair proposition that all newly-arising States shall conform to the new order of ideas, and shall agree, as a condition of their recognition and admission into the League of Nations to raise no military forces and collect no armaments beyond what the League may lay down as reasonable in their case. The result will be that militarism will be scotched *ab initio* in the case of all new States, and a vast impetus will be given to the peace movement all over the world. In such case it will also be much easier for the older States and Powers to adopt a policy of disarmament and reduction of military forces, and the new peaceful policy will become identified with the very constitution of the new order of things. Practically all the independent States arising from the decomposition of Russia, Austria, Turkey, and perhaps even Germany, will then have to adopt the new policy, and thereby help to entrench peace in the new political system of Europe. It is an idea which seems to me well worthy of our consideration, as more likely to preserve peace than more ambitious measures adopted to keep well-armed and militarily equipped States from coming to blows. . . .

' The vital principles are : the principle of nationality involving the ideas of political freedom and equality ; the principle of autonomy, which is the principle of nationality extended to peoples not yet capable of complete independent statehood ; the principle of political decentralization, which will prevent the powerful nationality from swallowing the weak autonomy as has so often happened in the now defunct European Empires ; and finally an institution like the League of Nations, which will give stability to that decentralization and thereby guarantee the weak against the strong. The only compromise I make, and make partly to conciliate the Great Powers and partly in view of the administrative inexperience of the League at the beginning, is the concession that, subject to the authority and control of the League, which I mean to be real and effective, suitable Powers may be appointed

to act as mandataries of the League in the more backward peoples and areas. That compromise will, I hope, prove to be only a temporary expedient.

'Let no one be alarmed at this formidable list of first-class difficulties which I am lavishly scattering in the path of the League. All these matters, and many more, are rapidly, unavoidably becoming subjects for international handling. Questions of industry, trade, finance, labour, transit and communications, and many others, are bursting through the national bounds and are clamouring for international solution. Water-tight compartments and partition walls between the nations and the continents have been knocked through, and the new situation calls for world-government. If the League of Nations refuses to function, some other machinery will have to be created to deal with the new problems which transcend all national limits. The task is there ; all that is required is a carefully thought-out form of government by which that task could be undertaken. It is a unique problem, both in its magnitude and in the benefits for the world which a successful solution will secure. . . .

'For there is no doubt that mankind is once more on the move. The very foundations have been shaken and loosened, and things are again fluid. The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march. Vast social and industrial changes are coming, perhaps upheavals which may, in their magnitude and effects, be comparable to war itself. A steady, controlling, regulating influence will be required to give stability to progress, and to remove that wasteful friction which has dissipated so much social force in the past, and in this war more than ever before. These great functions could only be adequately fulfilled by the League of Nations. Responding to such vital needs and coming at such a unique opportunity in history, it may well be destined to mark a new era in the Government of Man, and become to the peoples the guarantee of Peace, to the workers of all races the great International, and to all the embodiment and living expression of the moral and spiritual unity of the human race.'

APPENDIX II, PART II

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(As constituted on the 27th January and revised on the 6th February, 1919)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :

The President of the United States of America.
Honourable Edward M. House.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE :

The Right Hon. The Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.
Lieutenant-General the Right Hon. J. C. Smuts, K.C., Minister of
Defence of the Union of South Africa.

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION

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FRANCE :

- M. Léon Bourgeois, former President of the Council of Ministers
and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
M. Larnaude, Dean of the Faculty of Law of Paris.

ITALY :

- M. Orlando, President of the Council.
M. Scialoja, Senator of the Kingdom.

JAPAN :

- Baron Makino, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the
Diplomatic Council.
Viscount Chinda, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipo-
tentary of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan at London.

BELGIUM :

- M. Hymans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of State.

BRAZIL :

- M. Epitacio Pessoa, Senator, former Minister of Justice.

CHINA :

- Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of China at Washington.

PORTUGAL :

- M. Jayme Batalha Reis, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Pleni-
potentiary of Portugal at Petrograd.

SERBIA :

- M. Vesnitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of H.M. the King of Serbia at Paris.

*The undermentioned representatives were not summoned till
the 6th February, 1919.*

GREECE :

- M. Eleftherios Venizelos, President of the Council of Ministers.

POLAND :

- M. Roman Dmowski, President of the Polish National Committee.

RUMANIA :

- M. Diamandy, Rumanian Minister Plenipotentiary.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC :

- M. Charles Kramar, President of the Council of Ministers.

APPENDIX II, PART III

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE PLENARY CONFERENCE OF
25TH JANUARY, 1919

The Conference, having considered the proposals for the creation of a League of Nations, resolved that—

1. It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement, which the Associated Nations are now met to establish, that a League of Nations be created to promote international co-operation, to ensure the fulfilment of accepted international obligations and to provide safeguards against war.

2. This League should be treated as an integral part of the general Treaty of Peace, and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied on to promote its objects.

3. The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference, and should have a permanent organization and secretariat to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the conferences.

The Conference therefore appoints a Committee representative of the Associated Governments to work out the details of the constitution and functions of the League.

NOTE.—Above formed the terms of reference of the League of Nations Commission.

APPENDIX II, PART IV

REVISIONS OF THE TEXT OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE

(1) REVISION OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ORIGINAL DRAFT OF ARTICLE 10

President Wilson's draft Article ran originally as follows (*v. H. Wilson-Harris, Peace in the Making*, pp. 161-2): 'The contracting Powers unite in guaranteeing to each other political independence and territorial integrity; but it is understood between them that such territorial adjustments, if any, as may in the future become necessary by reason of changes in present racial conditions or present social and political relationships, pursuant to the principle of self-determination, and also such territorial adjustments as may in the judgement of three-fourths of the delegates be demanded by the welfare and manifest interest of the peoples concerned, may be effected if agreeable to those people; and that territorial changes may in equity involve material compensation. The contracting powers accept without reservation the principle that the peace of the world is superior in importance to every question of political jurisdiction or boundary.'

(2) DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DRAFT AND COVENANT

NOTE.—The chief differences between the Draft of 14th February and the Revised Covenant of the 28th April are the following :

a.—There was a general re-arrangement of the articles, to make the order more logical.

b.—Certain drafting alterations were made to enable the Germans to sign the Covenant without thereby becoming Members of the League.

c.—The word ‘ States ’ before ‘ Members of the League ’ was left out, as not properly applying to the British Dominions and India.

d.—‘ Body of Delegates ’ and ‘ Executive Council ’ became ‘ Assembly ’ and ‘ Council ’ respectively.

e.—Provision was made for the admission of new members to the Council, both permanent and elected, in order to cover the cases of Germany and Russia.

f.—States specially invited to sit on the Council are invited to sit ‘ as members ’.

g.—The need of *unanimity* to give force to a decision of the Council or Assembly is expressly stated (except in specified cases).

h.—The Secretary-General’s appointment by the Council must have the *approval* of the Assembly.

i.—The Secretariat and other positions under the League are opened to *women*.

k.—Candidates for admission to the League (not being original members) must adhere *without reservation*.

l.—Members of the League may withdraw from it on giving two years’ notice.

m.—The Council is only to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments, and not *determine*. Plans are to be *revised every 10 years* at least.

n.—A *prima facie* definition of *matters suitable for arbitration* is included in Art. XIII.

o.—Art. XIV. The Court is empowered to give an *advisory opinion* to the Council.

p.—Art. XV. Where a unanimous recommendation cannot be had, Members reserve the right to take such action as they think fit.

q.—The Council is to make no recommendation in cases affecting a Member’s *domestic jurisdiction*.

r.—When a dispute is transferred from the Council to the Assembly, the agreement of all the Council and *a majority of the Assembly* is effective.

s.—Art. XVI. A Covenant-breaking State may be expelled.

t.—Art. XVII. ‘ Deemed necessary by the *Council* ’, instead of ‘ by the League ’.

u.—New Arts. XXIII, XXV. The League is given an interest in White Slave Traffic, Opium Traffic, treatment of natives, prevention of disease, Red Cross.

v.—The Secretariat is to help and supply information in matters not under any existing Bureau.

w.—No Power need accept a *Mandate* against its will.

x.—The Commission on Mandates is to advise the *Council*, not the League.

y.—*Monroe Doctrine Article* (new Art. XXI) inserted.

z.—Amendments may be carried by a *bare majority* of the Assembly if the Council is unanimous.

zz.—*States dissenting* from an amendment carried by the majority may withdraw. Otherwise they are bound by it.

NOTE.—The full text of the revised Covenant forms Articles 1–26 of the Peace Treaty with Germany, of which the text is given below, App. III, part 2.

APPENDIX II, PART V

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECHES SUBSEQUENT TO THE ARMISTICE¹

Paris, 21st December, 1918.

The task of those who are gathered here, or will presently be gathered here, to make the settlement of this peace, is greatly simplified by the fact that they are the masters of no one ; they are the servants of mankind. And if we do not heed the mandates of mankind we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world.

London, 28th December, 1918.

That is the afterthought—the thought that something must be done now ; not only to make the just settlements—that, of course—but to see that the settlements remained and were observed, and that honour and justice prevail in the world. And as I have conversed with the soldiers I have been more and more aware that they fought for something that not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the centre and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the 'balance of power', a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in on the one side or the other, a balance which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competitive interests, a balance which was maintained by jealous watchfulness and an antagonism of interests which, though it was generally latent, was always deep-seated.

The men who have fought in this war have been the men from the free nations who are determined that that sort of thing should end now and for ever. It is very interesting to me to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every concert of counsel, there comes the suggestion that there must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single over-

¹ The following extracts from President Wilson's speeches delivered subsequent to the Armistice are important as bearing on the forming of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

whelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world.

It has been delightful in my conferences with the leaders of your government to find how our minds moved along exactly the same line and how our thought was always that the key to the peace was the guarantee of the peace, not the items of it; that the items would be worthless unless there stood back of them a permanent concert of power for their maintenance. That is the most reassuring thing that has ever happened in the world.

When this war began the thought of a League of Nations was indulgently considered as an interesting thought of closeted students. It was thought of as one of those things that it was right to characterize by a name which, as a university man, I have always resented. It was said to be academic, as if that in itself were a condemnation—something that men could think about, but never get. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it.

Manchester, 30th December, 1918.

And so, when we analyse the present situation and the future that we now have to mould and control, it seems to me that there is no other thought than that that can guide us. You know that the United States has always felt from the very beginning of her history that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connexion with European politics. I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe. If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe, but in the peace of the world.

Therefore it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose. But while it is difficult there is an element present that makes it easy. Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now.

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which, if any statesman resists, will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

Rome, 3rd January, 1919.

It is for that reason that it seems to me you will forgive me if I lay some of the elements of the new situation before you for a moment. The distinguishing fact of this war is that great empires have gone to pieces. And the characteristics of those empires are that they held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue.

The great difficulty among such states as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence ; that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another ; that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together not by sympathy and friendship, but by the coercive force of a military power.

Now the intrigue is checked, and the bonds are broken, and what we are going to provide is a new cement to hold the people together. They have not been accustomed to being independent. They must now be independent.

I am sure that you recognize the principle as I do—that it is not our privilege to say what sort of a government they should set up. But we are friends of those peoples, and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them—something supplied which will hold them together.

There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and goodwill. The only thing that binds men together is friendship, and by the same token the only thing that binds nations together is friendship. Therefore our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond.

In other words, our task is no less colossal than this : to set up a new international psychology ; to have a new real atmosphere. I am happy to say that in my dealings with the distinguished gentlemen who lead your nation, and those who lead France and England, I feel that atmosphere gathering, that desire to do justice, that desire to establish friendliness, that desire to make peace rest upon right ; and with this common purpose no obstacles need be formidable.

THE WORLD LEAGUE PLAN

Paris, 14th February, 1919.

President Wilson's speech at the Peace Conference on reading the draft of the Constitution of the League of Nations.

Mr. CHAIRMAN : I have the honour, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this Conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia.

I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document, as the only report we have to make.

[President Wilson then read the draft. When he reached Article XV and had read through the second paragraph, the President paused and said :]

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connexion

with one of the sentences I have just read : ' If any party shall refuse to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations.'

A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this : Suppose there is in the possession of a particular Power a piece of territory, or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favour of the party which claims the subject-matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject-matter in dispute.

Then, if the party in possession of the subject-matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the Council in the sense that it makes no resistance, but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject-matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps may be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgement has been given to comply with the decisions of the Council.

Cites a case for use of force.

[After having read Article XIX, President Wilson also stopped and said :]

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject-matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

[After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows :]

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labours that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the Commission was not only of the most constructive, but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgement with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiment, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we are trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting, because we felt that in a way this Conference did entrust unto us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty, that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honour and of international obligations.

The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point

was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

Union of Wills that cannot be resisted.

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those Powers which for convenience we have called the Great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, had the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a body of delegates, an executive council, and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent, as we sit around this table, more than twelve hundred million people. You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may govern the choice of its several representatives.

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

Provision for Discussion.

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings, or anything that may lead to friction or trouble, is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council. It can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council on the larger form of the general body of delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity, so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this programme, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which this League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a strait-jacket, but a vehicle of life.

A Living Thing is Born.

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we are called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization to ruin.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a League to secure the peace of the world. It is a League which can be used for co-operation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labour. There are many ameliorations of labour conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labour which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the manœuvres of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the labouring people of the world, the men

and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not, people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined governments of the world. This is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the Secretary-General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary-General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately, how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary-General to publish them.

Protection of the Helpless.

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognized in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests ; and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to Powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the Great Power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now, the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

A Practical Document.

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting, and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying : ‘We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship.’

APPENDIX III, PART I

I. EXTRACTS FROM DISCUSSION BETWEEN PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE SENATE COMMISSION AT THE WHITE HOUSE, AUGUST 19, 1919.¹

THE President in his opening statement, after urging 'that the action of the Senate with regard to the treaty (should) be taken at the earliest practicable moment', went on to deal with various points in which the treaty was being criticized, and with the question of reservations and amendments :

The Monroe Doctrine is expressly mentioned as an understanding which is in no way to be impaired or interfered with by anything contained in the covenant, and the expression 'regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine' was used, not because any one of the conferees thought there was any comparable agreement anywhere else in existence or in contemplation, but only because it was thought best to avoid the appearance of dealing in such a document with the policy of a single nation. Absolutely nothing is concealed in the phrase.

With regard to domestic questions, Article XV of the covenant expressly provides in case of any dispute arising between the members of the League and the matter involved is claimed by one of the parties, 'and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendations as to its settlement'. The United States was by no means the only Government interested in the explicit adoption of this provision, and there is no doubt in the mind of any authoritative student of international law that such matters as immigration, tariff, and naturalization are incontestably domestic questions, with which no international body could deal without express authority to do so. . . .

The right of any sovereign State to withdraw had been taken for granted, but no objection was made to making it explicit. Indeed so soon as the views expressed at the White House conference were laid before the commission, it was at once conceded that it was best not to leave the answer to so important a question to inference. . . .

Article X is in no respect of doubtful meaning when read in the light of the covenant as a whole. The council of the League can only 'advise upon' the means by which the obligations of that great article are to be given effect to unless the United States is a party to the policy or action in question. Her own affirmative vote in the council is necessary before any advice can be given, for a unanimous vote of the council is required. If she is a party the trouble is hers

¹ Extracted by permission from the *International Review*, October 1919, pp. 195-200.

anyhow, and the unanimous vote of the council is only advice in any case. Each Government is free to reject it if it please.

Nothing could have been made more clear to the conference than the right of our Congress under our Constitution to exercise its independent judgment in all matters of peace and war. No attempt was made to question or limit that right. The United States will, indeed, undertake under Article X to 'respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League', and that engagement constitutes a very grave and solemn moral obligation. But it is a moral, not a legal, obligation, and leaves our Congress absolutely free to put its own interpretation upon it in all cases that call for action. It is binding in conscience only, not in law.

Article X seems to me to constitute the very backbone of the whole covenant. Without it the League would be hardly more than an influential debating society.

It has several times been suggested in public debate and in private conference, that interpretations of the sense in which the United States accepts the engagements of the covenant should be embodied in the instrument of ratification. There can be no reasonable objection to such interpretations accompanying the act of ratification provided they do not form a part of the formal ratification itself. Most of the interpretations which have been suggested to me embody what seems to me the plain meaning of the instrument itself.

But if such interpretations should constitute a part of the formal resolution of ratification long delays would be the inevitable consequence, inasmuch as all the many Governments concerned would have to accept, in effect, the language of the Senate as the language of the treaty before ratification would be complete. The assent of the German Assembly at Weimar would have to be obtained, among the rest, and I must frankly say that I could only with the greatest reluctance approach that assembly for permission to read the treaty as we understand it, and as those who framed it quite certainly understood. If the United States were to qualify the document in any way, moreover, I am confident from what I know of the many conferences and debates which accompanied the formulation of the treaty, that our example would immediately be followed in many quarters, in some instances with very serious reservations, and that the meaning and operative force of the treaty would presently be clouded from one end of its clauses to the other.

The following are the more important extracts from the cross-examination of the President by the Committee :

REPARATION CLAUSES

Senator Lodge : Mr. President, I have no prepared set of questions, but there are one or two that I want to ask, and will go to an entirely different subject in my next question. I want to ask, purely for information, is it intended that the United States shall receive any part of the reparation fund which is in the hands of the Reparation Commission ?

The President : I left that question open, Senator, because I did not feel that I had any final right to decide it. Upon the basis that was set up by the reparation clauses the portion that the United States would receive would be very small at best, and my own judgment was frequently expressed—not as a decision but as a judgment—that we should claim nothing under those general clauses. I did that because I coveted the moral advantage that that would give us in the council of the world.

Senator McCumber : Did that mean that we would claim nothing for the sinking of the *Lusitania* ?

The President : Oh, no ; that did not cover questions of that sort at all.

Senator Lodge : I understand, Mr. President, that war claims were not covered by that reparation clause.

The President : That is correct.

Senator Lodge : I asked that question because I desired to know whether, under the Reparation Commission, there was anything expected to come to us.

The President : As I say, that remains to be decided.

Senator Lodge : By the commission ?

The President : By the commission.

WITHDRAWAL FROM THE LEAGUE

Senator Borah : Mr. President, if no one else desires to ask a question I want, so far as I am individually concerned, to get a little clearer information with reference to the withdrawal clause in the League covenant. Who passes upon the question of the fulfilment of our international obligations, upon the question whether a nation has fulfilled its international obligations ?

The President : Nobody.

Senator Borah : Does the Council have anything to say about it ?

The President : Nothing whatever.

Senator Borah : Then if a country should give notice of withdrawal, it would be the sole judge of whether or not it had fulfilled its international obligations, its covenants to the League.

The President : That is as I understand it ; the only restraining influence would be the public opinion of the world.

Senator Borah : Precisely ; but if the United States should conceive that it had fulfilled its obligations, that question could [sic. sc. not] be referred to the council in any way, or the council could not be called into action ?

The President : No.

Senator Borah : Then, as I understand, when the notice is given, the right to withdraw is unconditional ?

The President : Well, when the notice is given it is conditional on the faith of the conscience of the withdrawing nation at the close of the two-year period.

Senator Borah : Precisely ; but it is unconditional so far as the legal right or the moral right is concerned.

The President : That is my interpretation.

Senator Borah : There is no moral obligation on the part of the United States to observe any suggestion made by the council ?

The President : Oh, no.

Senator Borah : With reference to withdrawing ?

The President : There might be a moral obligation if that suggestion had weight, Senator, but there is no other obligation.

INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLE X

Senator Borah : Mr. President, with reference to Article X, in listening to the reading of your statement I got the impression that your view was that the first obligation of Article X, to wit : 'The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League', was simply a moral obligation.

The President : Yes, Sir ; inasmuch as there is no sanction in the treaty.

Senator Borah : But that would be a legal obligation so far as the United States was concerned if it should enter into it, would it not ?

The President : I would not interpret that way, Senator, because there is involved the element of judgment as to whether the territorial integrity or existing political independence is invaded or impaired. In other words, it is an attitude of comradeship and protection among the members of the League, which in its very nature is moral and not legal.

Senator Borah : If, however, the actual fact of invasion were beyond dispute, then the legal obligation, it seems to me . . . the legal obligations would immediately arise if the fact of actual invasion were undisputed.

The President : The legal obligation to apply the automatic punishments of the covenant, undoubtedly, but not the legal obligation to go to arms and actually to make war—not the legal obligation. There might be a very strong moral obligation.

Senator McCumber : Just so that I may understand definitely what your view is on that subject, Mr. President, do I understand you to mean that while we have two different remedies and possibly others, we would simply be the sole judge of the remedy we would apply, but the obligation would still rest upon us to apply some remedy to bring about the result ?

The President : Yes. I cannot quite accept the full wording that you used, Sir. We would have complete freedom of choice as to the application of force.

OBLIGATION IN CASE OF WAR

Senator Knox : Mr. President, allow me to ask this question : Suppose that it is perfectly obvious and accepted that there is an external aggression against some power, and suppose it is perfectly obvious and accepted that it cannot be repelled except by force of arms. Would we be under any legal obligation to participate ?

The President : No, Sir ; but we would be under an absolutely compelling moral obligation.

Senator Knox : But no legal obligation ?

The President : Not as I contemplate it.

Senator Williams : Mr. President, each nation, if I understand it, is, of course, left to judge the applicability of the principles stated as to the facts in the case, whether there is or is not external aggression ?

The President : Yes.

Senator Williams : And if any country should conclude that there were not external aggression, but that France or some other country had started the trouble indirectly, we would have the same right, if I understand it, that Italy had to declare that her alliance with Germany and Austria was purely defensive, and that she did not see anything defensive in it ; so when you come to judgment of the facts, outside of the international law involved, each nation must determine, if I understand, whether or not there has been external aggression ?

The President : I think you are right, Sir.

OBLIGATIONS OF ARTICLE XI

Senator Borah (reading) : 'Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.' What I am particularly anxious to know is whether or not the construction which was placed upon these two Articles by the committee which framed the League was one that it was a binding obligation from a legal standpoint or merely a moral.

The President : Senator, I tried to answer that with regard to Article X.

Senator Borah : Yes, exactly.

The President : I would apply it equally with regard to Article XI, though I ought to hasten to say that we did not formulate these interpretations. I can only speak from my confident impression from the debates that accompanied the formulation of the covenant.

Senator Borah : Yes, I understand ; and your construction of Article XI is the same as Article X ?

The President : Yes.

THE TREATY WITH FRANCE

Senator Borah : Mr. President, does the special alliance treaty with France which has been submitted to us rest upon any other basis, as to legal and moral obligations, than that of Article X and Article XI, which you have just described ?

The President : No, Sir.

Senator Borah : That is also, as you understand it, simply our moral obligation which we enter into with France ?

The President : Yes.

SECRET TREATIES

Senator Borah : We did get a reply from Mr. Lansing to the same effect, so far as he was concerned. When did the secret treaties between Great Britain, France, and the other nations of Europe with reference to certain adjustments in Europe first come to your knowledge ? Was that after you had reached Paris also ?

The President : Yes, Sir. The whole series of understandings was disclosed to me for the first time then.

Senator Borah : Then we had no knowledge of these secret treaties so far as our Government was concerned until you reached Paris ?

The President : Not unless there was information at the State Department of which I knew nothing.

Senator Borah : Do you know when these secret treaties between Japan, Great Britain, and other countries were first made known to China ?

The President : No, Sir, I do not. I remember a meeting of what was popularly called the Council of Ten, after our reaching Paris, in which it was first suggested that all these understandings should be laid upon the table of the Conference. That was some time after we reached there, and I do not know whether that was China's first knowledge of these matters or not.

Senator Borah : Would it be proper for me to ask if Great Britain and France insisted upon maintaining these secret treaties at the Peace Conference as they were made ?

The President : I think it is proper for me to answer that question. Sir, I will put it in this way : They felt that they could not recede from them, that is to say that they were bound by them, but when they involved general interests such as they realized were involved, they were quite willing, and, indeed, I think desirous, that they should be reconsidered with the consent of the other parties. I mean with the consent, so far as they were concerned, of the other parties.

Senator Moses : Were all these treaties then produced, Mr. President ?

The President : Oh, yes.

JAPAN AND SHANTUNG

Senator Swanson : Can you tell us, or would it be proper to do so, of your understanding with Japan as to the return of Shantung—a question which has been very much discussed ?

The President : I have published the wording of the understanding, Senator. I cannot be confident that I quote it literally, but I know that I quote it in substance. It was that Japan should return to China, in full sovereignty, the old province of Shantung so far as Germany had any claims upon it, preserving to herself the right to establish a residential district at Tsing-tao, which is the town of Kiaochow Bay ; that with regard to the railways and mines she should retain only the rights of an economic concession there, with the right, however, to maintain a special body of police on the railway, the personnel of which should be Chinese, under Japanese instructors,

nominated by the managers of the company and appointed by the Chinese Government. I think that is the whole of it.

Senator Pomerene : That is, that the instructors should be confirmed by the Chinese Government ?

The President : No ; not exactly that. The language, as I remember it, is that they should be nominated by the managers of the railway company, and appointed by the Chinese Government.

Senator Williams : This rather curious question presents itself to my mind : As I understand, Japan has retained sovereignty for the ninety-nine years of the lease only at Kiaochow and five kilometres, or some such distance, back from the bay.

The President : She has not retained sovereignty over anything.

Senator Williams : She has not ?

The President : I mean she has promised not to.

Senator Williams : During the period of the lease ?

The President : No, she has promised not to retain sovereignty at all. Senator Borah asked whether this understanding was oral or otherwise. I do not like to describe the operation exactly if it is not perfectly discreet, but as a matter of fact this was technically oral, but literally written and formulated, and the formulation agreed upon.

Senator Johnson of California : When, Mr. President, is the return to be made ?

The President : That was left undecided, Senator, but we were assured at the time that it would be as soon as possible.

Senator Johnson : Did not the Japanese decline to fix any date ?

The President : They did at that time, yes ; but I think it is fair to them to say, not in the spirit of those who wished it to be within their choice, but simply that they could not at that time say when it would be.

Senator Johnson : The economic privileges that they would retain would give them a fair mastery over the province, would they not, or at least the Chinese think so ? Let me put it in that fashion, please.

The President : I believe they do, Senator. I do not feel qualified to judge. I should say that that was an exaggerated view.

Senator Johnson : But the Chinese feel that way about it, and have so expressed themselves.

The President : They have so expressed themselves.

Senator Knox : Mr. President, the economic privileges that they originally acquired in Korea and subsequently in Inner and Outer Mongolia, and in Northern and Southern Manchuria, have almost developed into a complete sovereignty over these countries, have they not ?

The President : Yes, Senator, in the absence of a League of Nations they have.

Senator Knox : You think the League of Nations would have prevented that, do you ?

The President : I am confident it would.

Senator New : Mr. President, does not this indefinite promise of Japan's suggest the somewhat analogous case of England's occupation

of Malta ? She has occupied Malta for something like a century under a very similar promise.

The President : Well, Senator, I hope you will pardon me if I do not answer that question.

Senator McCumber : Was there anything said by Japan as to anything that she would want to do before she turned the territory over to China ?

The President : No ; nothing was mentioned.

Senator McCumber : Then 'as soon as possible' would naturally mean, would it not, as soon as the treaty has been signed under which she accepts the transfer from Germany ?

The President : Well, I should say that it would mean that the process should begin then. Of course, there would be many practical considerations of which I know nothing that might prolong the process.

Senator McCumber : The whole purpose of my question, Mr. President, is to satisfy my mind, if I can, that Japan will, in good faith, carry out her agreement.

The President : I have every confidence that she will, Sir.

Senator Pomerene : Mr. President, if I may, I should like to ask a question or two along the same line. If this treaty should fail of ratification, then would not the opportunity be open to Japan to treat the Shantung question just as she has treated the Manchurian situation.

The President : I think so ; yes.

Senator Pomerene : So that, if the treaty should fail of ratification, China, so far as Shantung is concerned, would be practically at the mercy of Japan, whereas if the treaty is ratified, then at least she will have the benefit of the moral assistance of all the other signatory Powers to the treaty to aid in the protection of Chinese rights ?

The President : Senator, I conceive one of the chief benefits of the whole arrangement that centres in the League of Nations to be just what you have indicated—that it brings to bear the opinion of the world and the controlling action of the world on all relationships of that hazardous sort, particularly those relationships which involve the rights of the weaker nations. After all, the wars that are likely to come are most likely to come by aggression against the weaker nations. Without the League of Nations they have no buttress or protection ; with it, they have the united protection of the world. And inasmuch as it is the universal opinion that the great tragedy through which we have just passed never would have occurred if the Central Powers had dreamed that a number of nations would be combined against them, so I have the utmost confidence that this notice beforehand that the strong nations of the world will in every case be united will make war extremely unlikely.

Senator Johnson of California : Do you know, Mr. President, whether or not our Government stated to China that, if China would enter the war, we would protect her interests at the Peace Conference ?

The President : We made no promises.

Senator Johnson of California : No representations of that sort ?

The President : No. She knew that we would do as well as we could. She had every reason to know that.

Senator Johnson of California : Pardon me, a further question : You did make the attempt to do it, too, did you not ?

The President : Oh, indeed I did, very seriously.

Senator Johnson of California : And the decision ultimately reached at the Peace Conference was a disappointment to you ?

The President : Yes, Sir ; I may frankly say that it was.

Senator Johnson of California : You would have preferred, as I think most of us would, that there had been a different conclusion of the Shantung provision or the Shantung difficulty or controversy at the Paris Peace Conference ?

The President : Yes ; I frankly intimated this.

Senator Johnson of California : First, did Japan decline to sign the award as made or provided in the Peace Treaty ?

The President : Her representatives informed us, Senator, that they were instructed not to sign in that event.

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The Committee reported to the Senate on September 10, 1919. Two reports were presented, a majority report by Senator Lodge, and a minority report by Senator Hitchcock. The minority report recommended ratification of the treaty without reservations or amendments. The majority report recommended four main reservations or amendments :

- (1) To give the United States six votes in the League in order to equalize her voting strength with that of the British Empire ;
- (2) To exclude the United States from participation in various commissions created under the League, except the Reparations Commission, American participation in which is to be confined to matters connected with shipping ;
- (3) To hand over German rights in Shantung to China instead of Japan ;
- (4) To prevent any country interested in a dispute before the League from sitting in judgment upon that dispute.

II. TWO STATEMENTS BY GENERAL SMUTS

I.—THE PEACE TREATY

[A Statement issued by General Smuts after the Signature of Peace.]

CRITICISMS OF THE TREATY.

I HAVE signed the Peace Treaty, not because I consider it a satisfactory document, but because it is imperatively necessary to close the war ; because the world needs peace above all, and nothing could be more fatal than the continuance of the state of suspense between war and peace. The six months since the Armistice was signed have, perhaps, been as upsetting, unsettling, and ruinous to Europe as the previous four years of war. I look upon the Peace Treaty as the close of those

two chapters of war and armistice, and only on that ground do I agree to it.

I say this now, not in criticism, but in faith ; not because I wish to find fault with the work done, but rather because I feel that in the Treaty we have not yet achieved the real peace to which our peoples were looking, and because I feel that the real work of making peace will only begin after this Treaty has been signed, and a definite halt has thereby been called to the destructive passions that have been desolating Europe for nearly five years. This Treaty is simply the liquidation of the war situation of the world.

The promise of the new life, the victory of the great human ideals, for which the peoples have shed their blood and their treasure without stint, the fulfilment of their aspirations towards a new international order, and a fairer, better world, are not written in this Treaty, and will not be written in treaties. ‘ Not in this Mountain, nor in Jerusalem, but in spirit and in truth,’ as the Great Master said, must the foundations of the new order be laid. A new heart must be given, not only to our enemies, but also to us ; a contrite spirit for the woes which have overwhelmed the world ; a spirit of pity, mercy, and forgiveness for the sins and wrongs which we have suffered. A new spirit of generosity and humanity, born in the hearts of the peoples in this great hour of common suffering and sorrow, can alone heal the wounds which have been inflicted on the body of Christendom.

And this new spirit among the peoples will be the solvent for the problems which the statesmen have found too hard at the Conference.

There are territorial settlements which will need revision.

There are guarantees laid down which we all hope will soon be found out of harmony with the new peaceful temper and unarmed state of our former enemies.

There are punishments foreshadowed over most of which a calmer mood may yet prefer to pass the sponge of oblivion.

There are indemnities stipulated which cannot be expected without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe, and which it will be in the interests of all to render more tolerable and moderate.

There are numerous pin-pricks which will cease to pain under the healing influences of the new international atmosphere.

The real peace of the peoples ought to follow, complete, and amend the peace of the statesmen.

In this Treaty, however, two achievements of far-reaching importance for the world are definitely recorded. The one is the destruction of Prussian militarism ; the other is the institution of the League of Nations. *I am confident that the League of Nations will yet prove the path of escape for Europe out of the ruin brought about by this war.*

HOW THE LEAGUE CAN BE DEVELOPED.

But the League is as yet only a form. It still requires the quickening life, which can only come from the active interest and the vitalizing contact of the peoples themselves. The new creative spirit, which is once more moving among the peoples in their anguish, must fill the institution with life, and with inspiration for the pacific ideals born of this war, and

so convert it into a real instrument of progress. In that way the abolition of militarism—in this Treaty, unfortunately, confined to the enemy—may soon come as a blessing and relief to the Allied peoples as well.

And the enemy peoples should, at the earliest possible date, join the League, and in collaboration with the Allied peoples learn to practise the great lesson of this war—that not in separate ambitions or in selfish domination, but in common service for the great human causes, lies the true path of national progress.

This joint collaboration is especially necessary to-day for the reconstruction of a ruined and broken world.

The war has resulted, not only in the utter defeat of the enemy armies, but has gone immeasurably further. We witness the collapse of the whole political and economic fabric of Central and Eastern Europe. Unemployment, starvation, anarchy, war, disease, despair stalk through the land. Unless the victors can effectively extend a helping hand to the defeated and broken peoples, a large part of Europe is threatened with exhaustion and decay. Russia has already walked into the night, and the risk that the rest may follow is very grave indeed.

The effects of this disaster would not be confined to Central and Eastern Europe. For civilization is one body, and we are all members of one another.

A supreme necessity is laid on all to grapple with this situation. And in the joint work of beneficence the old feuds will tend to be forgotten, the roots of reconciliation among the peoples will begin to grow again, and ultimately flower into active, fruitful, lasting Peace.

To the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, who have been exceptionally blessed with the good things of life, I would make a special appeal. Let them exert themselves to the utmost in this great work of saving the wreckage of life and industry on the Continent of Europe. They have a great mission, and in fulfilling it they will be as much blessed as blessing.

All this is possible, and, I hope, capable of accomplishment; but only on two conditions.

In the first place, the Germans must convince our peoples of their good faith, of their complete sincerity through a real honest effort to fulfil their obligations under the Treaty to the extent of their ability. They will find the British people disposed to meet them half-way in their unexampled difficulties and perplexities. But any resort to subterfuges or to underhand means to defeat or evade the Peace Treaty will only revive old suspicions and rouse anger and prove fatal to a good understanding.

And in the second place, our Allied peoples must remember that God gave them overwhelming victory, victory far beyond their greatest dreams, not for small, selfish ends, not for financial or economic advantages, but for the attainment of the great human ideals for which our heroes gave their lives, and which are the real victors in this war of ideals.

II. PROBLEMS FOR THE LEAGUE

[*A Farewell Message from General Smuts on leaving England.*]

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

As I am leaving England to-day on my return to South Africa, I wish to say a few parting words of farewell to all my friends. I had intended to say on the public platform what I am now going to write, but my departure has been hastened, and no occasion for a speech has been found.

From the bottom of my heart I wish to thank the British people who have not hesitated to honour and trust one who was once their enemy. My own case is a striking instance of how the enemy of to-day may be the friend and comrade of to-morrow, and must in these difficult days make all of us realize how important it is to practise moderation and restraint in the expression of our feelings towards those who were yesterday our bitter enemies.

Certain things have to be said to-day, though I find great unwillingness to say them. The position I have occupied in this country and the fact that, under very difficult circumstances, I have taken a most active part against the Germans from the first to the last day of the late war, give me the right to say them without giving offence to anybody.

The protest which I issued on signing the Peace Treaty has called forth a vast correspondence, which shows a widespread agreement with the views I hold on that document, as well as on the international situation generally. Deep as my disappointment was with many important features of the Treaty, I did not protest in bitterness or from any desire to criticize. The past is done, and must be accepted as a fact; the future is before us to make or mar. And I spoke with an eye to the future, with a desire to create the right spirit wherewith to confront the difficult situation before us.

In spite of the apparent failure of the Peace Conference to bring about the real and lasting appeasement of the nations to which we had been looking forward, our faith in our great ideals should be kept untarnished. The sting of bitterness should be taken out of the great disillusion which is overtaking the peoples. Instead of sitting down in despair as reactionaries or anarchists, we should continue to march forward with firm step as those who have the Great Help.

The fundamental significance of the war has been the victory of the spirit, of the moral over the material factors of life. Germany had entered upon a vast venture in materialism, and had constructed the most tremendous mechanical apparatus of victory which the world had ever seen. But the neglected moral factors, the public opinion of mankind, the outraged conscience of the nations, in the end avenged themselves and inflicted the most signal defeat on the forces of scientific materialism. Spirit has triumphed; the apparently weak moral elements which constitute the motive forces of human progress have been vindicated in a way which will make this war one of the most

significant landmarks in human history. The victory has been not to the strong, but to the finer, more generous elements in human nature. The great ideals of progress have won through ; that is the real and abiding significance of this war and its tremendous conclusion.

If that is so, then this war should leave no lasting bitterness behind it in the minds of the peoples. The baser elements of human nature have been defeated in the enemy ; they should not re-establish themselves in the victors. The tremendous spiritual *élan* which carried us through the great struggle should not now make way for barren hatreds, abject fears, base greeds. Now more than ever should the banner of the spirit be borne aloft by all of us, as at once the symbol and secret of victory. '*In hoc signo vinces.*' The ethical human factors have vindicated themselves in a way which is little short of miraculous. It is therefore most right and proper that we should practise the great Christian qualities of mercy, pity and forgiveness, which constitute the very essence and differentia of our religion.

If all this is true and admitted, the political application to international affairs follows quite obviously. There must be a real peace between the nations ; the word 'reconciliation' has to be writ large on our skies. Our hearts have to be emptied of all bitterness and hatred, and the memories of war atrocities should not harden our hearts against the revival of a new international life.

No, it is not a case for hatred or bitterness, but for all-embracing pity, for extending the helping hand to late friend and foe alike, and for a mission of rescue work such as the world has never seen. Europe is and will for this generation be the greatest mission field in which the energies of the great-hearted people of this country and America could be spent. And the gospel will be that original one of 'goodwill among men', of human comradeship beyond the limits of nations, of fellow-feeling and common service in the great human causes.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA.

All this applies to Europe generally, but I wish to add a word in reference to Germany and Russia in particular, as the situation is too grave to permit of any shrinking from the frankest expression of opinion. The brutal fact is that Great Britain is a very small island on the fringe of the Continent, and that on the Continent the seventy odd million Germans represent the most important and formidable national factor. You cannot have a stable Europe without a stable, settled Germany ; and you cannot have a stable, settled, prosperous Great Britain while Europe is weltering in confusion and un settlement next door.

Russia is an even more obscure and difficult problem than Germany, and one on which no dogmatic opinion would be justified. But from all the information which has come into my possession I am seriously doubtful about the sort of policy which we seem to be pursuing there. Russia can only be saved internally by Russians themselves, working on Russian methods and ideas. She is a case of national pathology of a people with a sick soul ; and only Russian ideas can work a cure. Our military forces, our lavish contributions of tanks and other war-

material may temporarily bolster up the one side, but the real magnitude of the problem is quite beyond such expedients.

Leave Russia alone, remove the blockade, adopt a policy of friendly neutrality and Gallio-like impartiality to all factions. It may well be that the only ultimate hope for Russia is a sobered, purified Soviet system ; and that may be far better than the Tsarism to which our present policy seems inevitably tending. If we have to appear on the Russian scene at all, let it be as impartial benevolent friends and helpers, and not as military or political partisans. Be patient with sick Russia, give her time and sympathy, and await the results of her convalescence.

We have a good deal to set in order in our own house. The Dominions have been well launched on their great career ; their status of complete nationhood has now received international recognition, and as members of the Britannic League they will henceforth go forward on terms of equal brotherhood with the other nations on the great paths of the world. The successful launching of her former Colonies among the nations of the world, while they remain members of an inner Britannic circle, will ever rank as one of the most outstanding achievements of British political genius. Forms and formulas may still have to be readjusted, but the real work is done.

INDIA AND EGYPT.

There still remains the equally important task of properly locating the great Dependencies, like India and Egypt, in the free democratic British League. Recent severe troubles in both Dependencies mentioned serve to remind us that no time must be lost in boldly grappling with this problem. It is a task to be approached in an open mind and with the fixed determination here, too, to realize those principles of freedom and self-government without which this Empire cannot continue to exist in the new time.

The Dominion solution will obviously not apply, but it may be found possible to reconcile native self-government with a system of expert advice and assistance, which will replace the dead hand of bureaucratic domination by the lighter but no less effective touch of a friendly hand. The problem is capable of a practical solution, and precedents for dealing with it are not entirely wanting.

IRELAND.

But most pressing of all constitutional problems in the Empire is the Irish question. It has become a chronic wound, the septic effects of which are spreading to our whole system ; and through its influence on America it is now beginning to poison our most vital foreign relations. Unless the Irish question is settled on the great principles which form the basis of this Empire, this Empire must cease to exist. The fact that Irishmen cannot be made to agree may have been a good reason for not forcing on a solution during the war ; but now after peace the question should be boldly grappled with. Our statesmen have just come back from Paris, where they have dealt with racial problems like

that of Ireland, and in every way as difficult as the Irish problem. They may not shrink from applying to Ireland the same medicine that they have applied to Bohemia and many another part of Europe.

And this brings me to say finally a word on questions of a more domestic character in this country. There are difficult days ahead for this country, and this nation will be tested as never before in the searching times that are coming. The greatest hurricane in history is raging over the world, and it is idle to expect that we shall be able to shelter ourselves from its effects. Vast changes are coming, and are already beginning to loom into sight. There is no formula or patent medicine that will see us through this crisis.

London, July 1919.

III. SPEECH OF M. CLEMENCEAU IN INTRODUCING PEACE TREATY TO THE FRENCH CHAMBER, 30TH JUNE, 1919.

[THE following text of M. Clemenceau's speech in submitting the Peace Treaty to the Chamber is taken from *The Times*.]

I have the honour of submitting to the Bureau of the Chamber the Bill for the ratification of the Treaty which received the signatures of the Allied and Associated Governments of the Entente on the 28th inst. at Versailles after those of the Plenipotentiaries of the German Empire. I add to it the Anglo-French and Franco-American Convention.

As to the conditions of the Treaty itself and the spirit which inspires it, I have no intention of forestalling the debate which must take place here. At an hour like this, however, when the greatest drama of history is about to close, when we are still thrilled with the sense of supreme duties magnificently fulfilled, the first impulse of our souls must be one of French, as much as humanitarian, hope—the ideal of France, the ideal of humanity itself. We can and must publicly attest the common thought under the eyes of those great ancestors whose Motherland it is our pride to continue.

What boundless joy when from this tribune one can at length definitely declare : ‘ By France and by our Allies the work of salvation from the danger which placed the world in deadly peril is now accomplished ! ’ If only we hold on to our duty, the old spirit of domination by war may be for ever felled to the ground. That day has come when force and right—terribly separated hitherto—are to unite for the peace of peoples in travail.

For that peace we have the will that we had for the war—a hard will that nothing can bend. That peace we shall make as we made war, without weakness, without theatrical pride, with the inflexible determination to remain worthy of our great dead who desired that France, with all her historic virtues, should march ever onwards and upwards. This we must do, for it was against France in particular that

the abominable attempt at universal oppression was directed which has just been brought to nought.

In order to crush the right of free peoples to the plenitude of life the France of the Revolution must before everything else be beaten down. We were asked for all, and we gave all. And here triumphant right stands inviolable, and here is a righteous peace with all the hopes that that great word suggests about to begin its reign.

Of the peace of human greatness of which we have at present only the precursive signs, it is for us to set the example—to live it—in the accomplishment of all the great duties it implies if we wish to see the honour to which our people is entitled acknowledged for ever by unanimous consent.

PEACE AT HOME.

But this peace, it is only right to say here, even at this very moment, cannot be exclusively a peace with friendly nations and with those on which, after the sanctions of justice have been fulfilled, we wish to impose its duties. A general peace in fact could only be the deceptive mirage of a day if we were not capable of living first of all in peace with ourselves—that is to say, of giving, as a foundation for peace, internal peace to our own country.

For that, no doubt, we must have appeasement of old conflicts, but these appeasements must be mutual, for if the spirit of war should persist at any points whatever, it would mean the betrayal of civil peace at the very moment when we were trying to make it secure.

An external peace can be won in one sublime moment by the sacrifice of all that makes life beautiful and precious. Internal peace can only be obtained by continuous effort in a spirit of supreme equity and by the equitable and successive adjustment of impulses, wishes, beliefs, opinions, and interests, traditionally opposed and sometimes even contradictory to one another.

It requires the unseen heroism of voluntary restraint, often painful, for the determined preservation of that rational order, which, if it does not immediately satisfy all hopes, should none the less permit the progressive realization of those hopes as we prove ourselves more and more capable of putting into action those aspects of idealism so prompt to present themselves but so slow to take their place in living reality.

Have we not there the whole programme of the Republic from the day when it arose bleeding in the first hours of the Revolutionary conflagration? Is that not the programme of France herself, who finds thus traced out a bar to our war victory being our peace victory? At least we already know what victories over ourselves we have first to gain.

MEMORIES OF 1871.

At Bordeaux and Versailles in 1871 I had the pain of witnessing with my own eyes, my heart broken, the atrocious laceration, the open wound which has never been healed. Military revenge and moral revenge then had to be united. The first has come. Even in defeat we began the other. In victory we want to complete it.

Long enough, and for too long, have we dissipated our strength in

political and social conflicts, the fatality of all peoples and all times, but which, even when fruitful, are found at the final reckoning to mean loss of energy. It is the common history of mankind. There has been no great conquest which has not cost tumults or efforts.

The outcome is victory in the most noble sense of the word, victory both in reality and in the ideal, a victory not of individuals, but of Republican France herself, of all our Parliaments which have followed one another in the common determination to reconstruct France and put her in her rightful place in the world, a victory of all our Governments which, ever since the dismemberment of the Motherland, have taken upon themselves the perilous honour of facing the dilemma put by the German Sphinx—victory or death. We have chosen. The enigma is solved.

The man who from the very morrow of 1871 organized the great final rush of savagery for universal enslavement stupidly boasted of being able to tolerate, nay, to encourage, our reviving Republic as an organization of national weakness, discord, and dissolution. That was all he had understood of liberty. Well, the experiment he wanted was able to develop freely for half a century. His people, whom he chained to the War Lord's chariot and who submitted to the yoke for the conquest and debasement of mankind, can now realize the whole result of the experiment. History has spoken clearly.

It is true that our fields are ravaged, our villages and our towns razed, the pick of our youth rests in the sacred soil, in the shroud of glory, our most precious treasure. All our wealth has been lavished without stint, our best blood has flowed from all our veins, tears have streamed down every cheek, every heart has shuddered with unspeakable horror, but tears, tortures, and the blood of our wounds have left us better, higher, greater, and more completely French.

'AND NOW TO WORK.'

France is on her feet living and strong, her will for justice, like the military virtues of her grand soldiers, the majority of whom will soon return to civil life, her vigilance in the works of peace, is ever awake. And now to work all of us, to carry out the duties of to-morrow, following those of yesterday and to-day, to carry out above all the necessary repair work which is as indispensable in peace as in war.

Social union remains the very foundation in our country which we shall not have saved from the barbarians in order to tear it to pieces with our own parricidal hands. One can bend his back to the task, to organizing modern labour in the legitimate methods of just co-operation born of the general principles of right. Let another learn to moderate himself, to control himself, to rid himself of those detestable flatterers who tell him, as they told their master of old, that his power is absolute, that he can exercise his will with impunity and without incurring any responsibilities. This will inevitably lead to a sense of the solidarity of the interests of all and of the mutual sacrifices demanded by a better understanding.

Let us all begin, and we must all hasten. It will be for the Government to set the example. It will try to the best of its ability gradually

to replace the existing empiricism of war-time practices by the rational order of peace, but we must not be asked for *coups de théâtre*. A nation cannot pass suddenly without any transition stages from the overwhelming upheavals of a desperate defence to the ordered life which is the wish of all.

Gentlemen, you are the representatives of the nation. None can doubt but that duty alone inspires you. In harmony with you we have accomplished the work in which your assistance never failed us. This work will be completed by you. You will give your decisions in full independence. The law of democracies provides that the people must be the final judges.

IV. SPEECH OF MR. LLOYD GEORGE IN INTRODUCING PEACE TREATY TO HOUSE OF COMMONS, 3RD JULY, 1919

THE PRIME MINISTER (MR. LLOYD GEORGE): I have to lay on the Table of the House, and to ask the leave of the House, to introduce two Bills to enforce the most momentous document to which the British Empire has ever affixed its seal. There are two Bills which I shall have to ask the leave of the House to introduce. It is unnecessary to obtain the ratification of Parliament to a treaty, except in one or two particulars. The ratification is for the Crown, but there are certain provisions in the Treaty of Peace, signed last Saturday, which it is necessary to obtain an Act of Parliament in order to enforce. Therefore, I propose to ask leave to introduce a Bill in the usual form to enable His Majesty

to make such appointments, establish such offices, make such Orders in Council and do such things as appear to him to be necessary for carrying out the said Treaty, and for giving effect to any of the provisions of the said Treaty.

That is the usual form, I believe, in which measures of this kind have hitherto been couched. It is also necessary to have an Act of Parliament in order to obtain the sanction of Parliament to the Convention between His Majesty and the President of the French Republic. That Convention has already, I believe, been laid on the Table of the House, and, I hope, has already been circulated.

TRIBUTE TO COLLEAGUES AND BRITISH EXPERTS.

Before I say a word about the character of the Treaty, and about the purpose which animated those who negotiated it, I should like to be able to say how much we all owe to the experts who assisted in the preparation of the Treaty, and my colleagues, more particularly in France, who were associated with me in its preparation. I cannot say how much I personally owe, and how much I am certain the nation owes, to the Foreign Secretary (Mr. Balfour), whose ripe experience, acute intellect, and brilliant pen have been invaluable in the preparation of the various parts of this great document. I should also like to

recognise the services rendered by my right hon. Friend and colleague the Member for the Gorbals Division of Glasgow (Mr. Barnes), for the great tact with which he initiated, negotiated, and put through all the terms of that great labour charter which is now incorporated in this Treaty of Peace. I mention them particularly because, although other Ministers from time to time rendered very great assistance, these were there throughout, and devoted the whole of their time to this great task. I should like also to be able to say how much we owe to the Prime Ministers and other members of the great Dominion Governments for the assistance which they gave—Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Massey, and General Botha. They took part in some of the most difficult Commissions, notably the territorial Commissions for the adjustment of the extraordinarily delicate and complex ethnical, economic, and strategic questions which arose between the various States throughout Europe. They, in the main, represented the British Empire on many of these most difficult Commissions. We owe a great deal to the ability and judgment with which they discharged their functions.

I should not, however, be doing my duty if I did not recognise how much this country owes to the great body of experts who have taken part in the various, the innumerable, Commissions that have been working in connection with the preparation of these documents. We are rather apt in this country, I think, to depreciate our public servants, and to treat them as rather overpaid and under-worked servants. They are neither overpaid nor underworked. Quite the reverse. I cannot tell the House the measure of admiration won amongst the foreign delegations—I think it is right the country should know the admiration won amongst the foreign delegations—by the work of the British experts on the various Commissions. It was a matter of common knowledge and common talk how efficient they were, how skilful; and a good deal of this Treaty is the direct work of public servants of Great Britain on these world Commissions, where they really actually took a lead. They have done arduous, very arduous service—service of a very high order—and we all owe them a deep debt of gratitude and appreciation—and, let me add, admiration—for their splendid work. These British experts have met the experts of the whole world on equal terms to say the very least. I feel it my duty to make that acknowledgment.

STERN, BUT JUST TREATY.

Last time I had the opportunity of addressing the House upon this Treaty, its main outlines had been settled. I ventured then to call it a 'stern, but a just Treaty'. I adhere to that description. The terms are in many respects terrible terms to impose upon a country. Terrible were the deeds which it requites. Terrible were the consequences that were inflicted upon the world. Still more terrible would have been the consequences had they succeeded. What do they mean to Germany? Let us look at the matter quite frankly. In 1914 you had an Empire which possessed the greatest army in the world—the greatest army, probably, the world had ever seen. It had taken nearly two centuries to perfect. It was a perfect and a powerful striking machine. It was

the terror of the world. You had only to visit France or any other country to realise how Europe trembled—it is no exaggeration to say so—how Europe trembled—at the tramp of this mighty machine. It rendered the word of Germany potent. It has now been reduced to the size of a force quite adequate to maintain the peace in Germany, but not equal to disturbing the peace of the feeblest of her neighbours, not even of Czechoslovakia. There was a navy, the second in the world. I have heard grave Debates in this House which gave the impression that this navy might successfully challenge this, the greatest Navy in the world, and might enable that terrible army to invade a land which had not been invaded for hundreds of years. That was not so many years ago. Where is it now? The colonies of Germany covered about 1,500,000 square miles. Stripped of the lot! Territories of the size and of the wealth of, say, Scotland and Wales, torn from her side. They ought never to have been there. They were torn from her side, and their populations now form an integral part of other lands. Her mercantile marine is scattered. The ruler who for thirty years spoke for her pride and her majesty and her might—now a fugitive—is soon to be placed on his trial before the tribunals of lands which, on behalf of his country, he sought to intimidate.

They are terrible terms. Her war debt, which was no mean one, is more than doubled in order to pay reparation to those to whom she has done damage. I am not minimising the terms. If hon. Members want to exercise their imagination to realise what the terms mean, they have only to apply the terms to Great Britain, and they will begin to realise what they mean. There is no doubt that they are stern. Are they just? Let us examine separately those which have been challenged.

TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS.

Take the Territorial terms. In so far as territories have been taken away from Germany, it is a restoration. Alsace-Lorraine—forcibly taken away from the land to which its population were deeply attached. Is it an injustice to restore them to their country? Schleswig-Holstein—the meanest of the Hohenzollern frauds; robbing a poor, small, helpless country with a pretence that you are not doing it, and then retaining that land against the wishes of the population for fifty or sixty years. I am glad the opportunity has come for restoring Schleswig-Holstein. Poland—torn to bits, to feed the carnivorous greed of Russian, Austrian, Prussian autocracy. This Treaty has re-knit the torn flag of Poland, which is now waving over a free and a united people; and it will have to be defended, not merely with gallantry, but with wisdom. For Poland is indeed in a perilous position, between a Germany shorn of her prey and an unknown Russia which has not yet emerged. All these territorial adjustments of which we have heard are restorations. Take Danzig—a free city, forcibly incorporated in the Kingdom of Prussia. They are all territories that ought not to belong to Germany, and they are now restored to the independence of which they have been deprived by Prussian aggression.

I should like to say one word before I quit the problem of Poland, because there has been some discussion about it. However unjust it

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was to take Polish populations and put them under German rule, it would have been equally unjust to take German populations and place them under Polish rule—and it would have been equally foolish. Whether for strategic or economic reasons, it would do nothing but produce mischief in Europe. Europe has the lesson of Alsace-Lorraine, and it would be folly on our part to create any more Alsace-Lorraines in Europe. It would have been a wrong not merely to Germany but to Poland ; it would have been a wrong to Europe. Perhaps in fifty years' time Poland would have had to pay the penalty of the blunder committed by the Allies in this year. For that reason the British Delegation—and I have no hesitation in claiming a share in it—resolutely opposed any attempt to put predominantly German populations under Polish rule. I think Poland will have good reason to thank us for the part which we took in that action. But take all these territorial adjustments. I ask anyone to point to any territorial change we made in respect to Germany in Europe which is in the least an injustice, judged by any principle of fairness.

I come now to the question of reparation. Are the terms we have imposed unjust to Germany ? If the whole cost of the War, all the costs incurred by every country that has been forced into war by the action of Germany, had been thrown upon Germany, it would have been in accord with every principle of civilised jurisprudence in the world. There was but one limit to the justice and the wisdom of the reparation we claimed, and that was the limit of Germany's capacity to pay. The experts of all the great Allied countries examined with very close attention that question, and they arrived with fair unanimity at the approximate limits of the reparation which could be recovered from Germany, and under the Treaty we have never exceeded nor fallen short of their verdict. We have set out certain categories of damage which Germany has to repair ; damage to property on land and sea ; damage for loss of life amongst civilians—that includes the damage sustained by the relatives of those gallant sailors who lost their lives in the merchant shipping of this country ; damage for the loss of shipping and of cargoes ; and also the damage which is represented by the pensions and the separation allowances paid by each country in respect of casualties in the War. Is there anything unjust in imposing upon Germany those payments ? I do not believe anyone could claim it to be unjust. Certainly no one could claim that it was unjust unless he believed that the justice of the War was on the side of Germany.

I come to another condition—disarmament. Having regard to the use which Germany made of her great army, is there anything unjust in scattering that army, disarming it, making it incapable of repeating the injury which it has inflicted upon the world ?

GERMAN COLONIES.

I come again to the Colonies. I am running rapidly through the points which have been challenged as indicating undue harshness to Germany. In some of the Colonies there is most overwhelming evidence that Germany had cruelly ill-treated the natives. If, in the face of that evidence, we had restored those Colonies to Germany—especially

having regard to the part which the natives have taken in their own liberation—and thus given Germany an opportunity of effecting reprisals, it would have been a base betrayal. And it is not merely the treatment of the natives. Take the other use which Germany made of her Colonies. South-West Africa she used as a means of stirring up sedition and rebellion against the South African Colonies. The other Colonies she used as a base for preying upon the commerce of all countries in those seas. It would have been folly on our part to have restored those Colonies to Germany. We should under those conditions have widened the area of injustice in the world—it is already wide enough—and given renewed opportunities to Germany for possible future mischief.

EX-KAISER'S TRIAL IN LONDON.

Take another condition—the trial of those who have been responsible for the War. I think it is essential, if wars of this kind are to be prevented in future, that those who are personally responsible for them, and have taken part in plotting and planning them, should be held personally responsible. After all, millions of gallant young men have lost their lives, and there has been terrible suffering, in the War; and one or two men have in the main been responsible for engineering it. They ought to be held responsible. Therefore we have decided upon an exceptional course, and a pity it is that it is exceptional. If it had been done before there would have been fewer wars. We have decided that the man who undoubtedly had the prime responsibility for the War, in the judgment, at any rate, of the allied countries, should be tried for the offence he committed in breaking treaties which he was bound in honour to respect, to which he was a party, and by that means bringing such horrors upon the world. The allied countries have decided quite unanimously that the tribunal shall be an inter-allied one, and that it shall sit in London for the trial of the person supremely responsible for this War.

MR. HAYDAY : Then the Kaiser looks like getting to London after all. (Laughter.)

THE PRIME MINISTER : I hope the House will grant me some indulgence, as I am not quite up to the mark. The same thing applies to punishment for offences against the laws of war. There is a longer category than the House may imagine. Some of them are incredible—I could not have believed it had it not been that the evidence was overwhelming. I should not have thought any nation with a pretence to civilisation could have committed such atrocities. I am not going into the categories, and I should not care to enumerate them, but they ought to be punished. Officers who are guilty of these things in a moment of arrogance, feeling that their power to do what they please is irresistible, ought to know in future that they will be held personally responsible. War is horrible enough without committing these unlicensed infamies upon rules which are quite cruel enough as they are. Therefore the persons responsible must be tried. They will get a fair trial, all of them—an absolutely fair trial. It is due to the honour of the allied countries that the trial should be fair. Our credit stands behind a fair trial. We have to show that we are a civilised people, and

we will try them according to the methods and rules of civilisation. They will get fair play, and they have no right to more. What injustice is there in that? What undue harshness is there in it? It is the averting of it, and making it impossible for the future.

What are the other acts of injustice which are provided for in this Treaty? It is getting rid of the Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk treaties—treaties that made the populations of Rumania and of large tracts of Russia the mere slaves of German greed and rapine. Is that unjust? Is it unjust that we should, in our economic terms, make it clear that Germany is not to take advantage of wanton destruction of the trade machinery of her rivals in Belgium and in France in order to get ahead in the competitive race for business? Money does not put that right. You cannot get machinery in a year or, perhaps, two years, and meanwhile Germany, which has never been devastated, would be going ahead. We had to put in clauses for protection against that. What injustice is there in that?

I have heard that our conditions with regard to the great international rivers of the Continent are unjust because we have put them under international control. Why not? They are rivers which pass not merely through Germany but through Poland and through Czecho-Slovakia, and they pass through Belgium. Is it right that, purely because part of these rivers go through Prussia, they should have the power to strangle the economic life of these young countries higher up the river? These rivers are not for Prussia. They are navigable right up Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, and they must remain navigable. Yet I have heard it said that it was an injustice because we say: 'You will not be allowed to suffocate the lives of these young countries by giving complete power to one riparian owner to make it impossible for the others to carry on their business.' Those are some of the conditions I have heard described as unjust, and I ask anyone to point out in respect of any of these main conditions a single act of injustice, or anything which in a perfectly impartial court would not have been adjudicated upon in exactly the same sense as that in which the Council, which sat for six months in Paris scrupulously examining all these conditions, decided them.

NOT VENGEANCE—DISCOURAGEMENT.

Then I am told, 'Oh, yes, take them individually and they may be quite fair, but the cumulative effect is so crushing that you ought to have taken that into account.' [HON. MEMBERS: 'Hear, hear!'] I will deal with that. That is a criticism, and I am prepared to meet it. They say it may be just, but is it wise? I agree that justice ought not to be merely tempered by mercy, but it ought to be guided by wisdom. If these conditions do not meet that test, I agree they fail, although we could defend each individual decision upon its merits. Let us examine them. There were three alternative methods of dealing with Germany, bearing in mind her crime. What was that crime? Germany not merely provoked, but she planned the most devastating war the earth has ever seen. She planned it and prepared for it for years. She deliberately embarked upon it, not to defend herself against assailants,

but to aggrandise herself at the expense of her neighbours. I cannot think of a worse crime, certainly in the conditions of Europe as they were. They knew there were millions of armed men in other lands, and they deliberately hurled 4,000,000 of their own youth against millions in France, millions in Russia, and possibly millions in the United Kingdom. They knew not how far it would extend. They lit a fire : they knew not what it would devour, what it would scorch, what it would burn, or what sufferings would be caused, or what the desolation would be. They recked it not.

There were three methods of dealing with that crime. It cost millions of lives. It cost actually in the expense of the War for all lands £80,000,000,000, with all that that represents in possible happiness for the human race. But that is not all. The sufferings of that war will not pass away until this generation vanishes. We know what it is in hundreds of thousands of households. It is not merely the gallantry of the young fellows who gave their lives in a grave hour, but it is the households that will suffer tortures as long as they draw breath. All that planned, plotted, deliberately embarked upon ! That is what happened when they failed. What would have happened if they had succeeded ? The world is rocking and reeling under the blow, a blow that failed. I do not know when it will recover. I have seen something of Europe, and I have heard more, and I do not know when that blow will come to an end. That is the blow that failed. If it had succeeded, liberty in Europe would have vanished, and that is more precious than even precious lives. It would have altered the whole character of Europe, and you would have had a military tyranny throughout the world. That is what would have happened if the blow had succeeded. That is the cumulative effect of the crime.

There are three ways of dealing with that crime. One was to say, ' You tried, you failed ; go, and sin no more.' [An HON. MEMBER : ' Hear, hear ! '] Hon. Members may think that that is a good way of doing it, but let us see what it means. I am not afraid of examining that. Do not let us imagine, because it looks ridiculous, that there are not people who believe in it—I mean outside this House. [An HON. MEMBER : ' And inside it too.'] You have got to answer it. If that had happened, you must remember that Germany suffered less than her victims. Louvain is not in Prussia. France is not in Pomerania, the devastated territories are not in Brandenburg. Look at that land of desolation and wilderness. I have traversed it pretty well from one end to the other. I felt it my duty to do so in order to know what I was dealing with. That is not across the Rhine. Go across the Rhine. There are no devastated cities and no scorched plains there. The country is whole ; the factories are there, the machinery is there—their own and other peoples—and if you had done that Germany would have been better off than the people she had victimised. The cost of the War would have been less, because she would have had a perfect military machine. She would have said, ' Look at the triumph of militarism. We have kept all this devastation from you. France is paying more now than we are.' Why to have done that would have been to put a premium on militarism. The point I do not think is worth arguing.

Lct us take the second. The second is to go to the other extreme : to treat Germany as Rome treated Carthage, or, may I say, Prussia treated Poland ! Destroy her national existence, tear her to pieces, fling one piece to one conqueror, another to another, and a third to another. Fling the bits to the winds of heaven and have done with them. That is how Prussia treated Poland. It was not merely a crime, it was a blunder, and after a century and a half Poland reappears a formidable and bitter foc. She had 20,000,000 population ; Germany has 60,000,000. It is not merely that it would have been wrong and an injustice, but it would have been a folly, and I am glad that we have not soiled our hands with Prussian methods in dealing with Prussia.

What is a third method ? To compel Germany, in so far as it is in her power to restore, to repair, and to redress. Yes, and to take every possible precaution of every kind that is in our power against the recurrence of another such crime—to make such an example as will discourage ambitious rulers—yea, and ambitious peoples—from ever attempting to repeat this infamy. That is not vengeance. It is discouragement. The crime must be marked. The world cannot take these risks again. I said that Germany failed. I shudder to think how near she got to success. When you are thinking of the terms of peace you must think of making it impossible for any country to repeat an experiment of this kind without running the most terrible risks to her destiny. Every delegate entering the Council felt in his heart the supreme need for imposing terms that would make not merely rulers but nations shrink from attempting a crime of this kind again. That was the principle upon which we proceeded.

But it is said, ‘Are you not punishing Germany for the crime of her rulers ?’ Well, I am sorry to have to answer this, but I must. If Germany had been committed to this War against the will of her people, I say at once we ought to have taken that into account in the terms of peace. But was that so ? [HON. MEMBERS : ‘No, no ! ’] The nation approved, the nation applauded ; the nation had been taught to approve and to applaud. From the Baltic to the Boden See the nation was united and enthusiastic behind this enterprise. It was not like the unity and enthusiasm of France to repel an invader on French soil. It was an enthusiasm which was at its highest when German troops were marching through Belgium. Supposing that the German Chancellor had returned from the Peace Conference with a Germanic Peace—Belgium added to the Fatherland, the mines of Briey added to the mineral wealth of the Rhineland, the British Fleet surrendered. [HON. MEMBERS : ‘Never ! ’] Well, I agree it requires some imagination, but I ask my hon. Friends to accept it for the moment. Supposing there had been a Peace of that kind—the British Mercantile Marine taken away, the British Dependencies added to the German Colonies, huge indemnities imposed upon France and Great Britain for a war they never provoked and into which they entered against their will.—

MR. SEXTON : They would have had to kill us all first !

THE PRIME MINISTER : My hon. Friends now will see what we averted. That was what Germany was after. But suppose these things had happened. The mere fact that Belgium was a helpless

country, and was not capable of invading Germany or any other land, that France was more pacific than ever, and that Great Britain had not the slightest desire to enter into war with any land, would not have prevented the German people as a whole receiving these terms with delirious joy for the triumph of German arms. I should have been glad if it had been possible to say that this was a war that had been entered into against the will of the German people. But it was not, and therefore it is essential that nations must know, if they enter into unprovoked wars of aggression against their neighbours, what may lie in store for them when defeat falls upon their arms. I therefore have no hesitation in challenging anyone, either inside or outside this House, to point to a single Clause in this Treaty that is not in accordance with the stern and highest demands of justice and fair play.

GUARANTEES FROM GERMANY—DISARMAMENT.

The next question that is asked is, ‘What are your guarantees for the execution of this stern Treaty?’ I need hardly assure the House that this gave us very great concern, and that we thought a great deal about it. We were determined, at any rate, that this Treaty should not be a scrap of paper. What are the guarantees? The first is the disarmament of Germany. The German Army was the foundation and corner-stone of Prussian policy. You had to scatter it, disperse it, disarm it, to make it impossible for it to come together again, to make it impossible to equip such an army. The first step we took was to reduce the German Army from 4,000,000 to 100,000—quite adequate for the maintenance of the peace in Germany. Then came the question whether that army should be a voluntary army or a conscript army. The British Delegation had no hesitation in proposing that it should be a voluntary army, with a long term of service. I will tell the House why we came to that conclusion. The first proposal was that there should be a conscript army of 200,000 men. That would have meant that in ten years you might have had 1,500,000 trained men in Germany, and in twenty years you might have had 3,000,000 armed trained men. As everyone knows, that was more or less the method by which the army which overthrew Napoleon was created in Germany—by their short terms of service passing the youth of the nation as rapidly as they could through the machine. That we did not think was disarming Germany. Therefore we strongly advocated a long-service army, which would leave the mass of the population untrained, and make it impossible for the Germans to raise huge armies, even if they got someone else to equip them. There was always that possible danger—that, although they might not be able to do it themselves, they might be in alliance with a country that could equip them. On the other hand, if they had not the trained men, it would have taken time at any rate to accustom them to the use of arms. We had always our own experience and the experience of America. Although we had a very considerable force in 1914, scattered over the Empire, it was a force equipped rather for defence than for offence, and, in spite of the fact that you had in the British Empire pretty nearly 1,000,000 armed men in 1914, still we were not able to put in the field an army that you could

reckon upon to face a great Continental army until 1916. Why? It took time to train and to equip, to get the necessary officers, and to make ready. You could not wage a war of aggression under these circumstances.

That is why we felt that as long as you forced the German Army down to a small number, so long as you had not in Germany great numbers of men who had received even six months' training, Germany could never take part in a war of aggression. That is what we want to avoid. Those who have read the Treaty know the steps we have taken to make it impossible for Germany to have great factories and arsenals which at any moment she could turn on for the equipment of a great force. I know very well from experience that, though you can convert and adapt to warlike purposes machinery used for peaceable purposes, it takes time, and that makes a war of aggression impossible. We, therefore, regard the disarmament of Germany, the reduction of her army, the destruction of her arsenals, the taking away of her guns, as one of the foremost guarantees for peace which you could exact in the Treaty. The same thing applies to her Navy.

UNPROVOKED ATTACK UPON FRANCE.

Then comes another guarantee, the guarantee to which I have already referred, in regard to which I propose to ask the leave of the House to introduce a Bill, and obtain the approval of the House—that is the United States and British guarantees—in the event of a wanton and unprovoked attack being made upon France. I do not suppose that any section of the House would object to that. It is to be entered into with the approval of the League of Nations. But the League of Nations is an experiment, and France has within living memory twice been invaded by Germany. She is, with a population of 40,000,000, facing a very hostile population of 60,000,000 or 70,000,000, and France has legitimate reason for feeling a nervous apprehension. When Britain has gone home, when America has left 3,000 miles between her and the coast of France, and when those gallant men from the Dominions who have fought so bravely on French soil—the Australians and the men of New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada, who won the deepest affection in France—have departed, France sees herself there with only the Rhine between her and this foe which has trampled upon her ruthlessly and torn her flesh twice within living memory. Therefore France says, 'We would like to know that you, Britain, that you, America, who helped to emancipate our soil, are still behind us if there is any wanton aggression.' I invite the British Parliament to say, 'Yes.'

An HON. MEMBER: That shows a lack of faith in the League of Nations.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not agree that that is a lack of faith in the League of Nations. On the contrary, the League of Nations will be of no value unless it has behind it the sanction of strong nations, prepared at a moment's notice to stop aggression. Otherwise the League of Nations will be a scrap of paper. I know it is said that this binds you to engage by the side of France in war with Germany, if ever it

should happen. No ! It only engages us if there is wanton provocation on the part of Germany. That is clearly and distinctly stated in the document itself. If there is a wanton attack on the part of Germany—which I do not anticipate, because I think Germany has had enough—I cannot imagine anyone hesitating for a moment to come to the aid of that gallant country which has suffered more than any other country in the world from this wanton aggression. I therefore propose to invite the House of Commons to sanction and approve that agreement.

RHINE ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

What is the other guarantee ? The other guarantee is the Army of Occupation. There are some who attach more importance to that than others. The French people, very naturally, would like to feel, at any rate until Germany shows evidence of good will, evidence that she means honestly to execute the Treaty, that they have that force on the Rhine. But I am perfectly certain of this : that France does not wish to keep an Army there for a single day beyond the absolute necessity of the case. Because there is peril in an Army of Occupation. There are unfortunate possibilities in an Army of Occupation. France does not desire to keep an Army there merely in order to be able to occupy German cities. If Germany shows her good will, if Germany gives the necessary guarantees for the execution of the Treaty, then France is quite prepared to reconsider at the proper moment the question of occupation. The second matter, which is a very important one in respect of occupation, is its cost. We are indirectly interested in that, inasmuch as we are interested in Germany paying her instalments of the indemnity. We do not wish to impose upon Germany any unnecessary expense which would be a first charge upon a fund in which we are just as much interested as any other country. Therefore we have had an understanding with France that the moment the German Government carry out their undertaking with regard to disarmament, the cost of the Army of Occupation shall not exceed 240,000,000 marks a year. I do not know what the value of the mark is to-day. [HON. MEMBERS : ‘ Threepence ! ’] At any rate, I think that is a satisfactory arrangement, and I propose to put on the Table of the House a document signed by M. Clemenceau, President Wilson, and myself, which notifies that arrangement. That does not require any sanction. It is simply an indication on the part of France of her intention.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

I come to the last and to the greatest guarantee of all—that is, the League of Nations. Let me say, with regard to the League of Nations, that that great and hopeful experiment is only rendered possible by the other conditions. I want the House to realise that thoroughly. Without disarmament, without the indication which this War has given that the nations of the world are determined at all costs to enforce respect for treaties, the League of Nations would be just like other Conventions in the past, something that would be blown away by the first gust of war or of any fierce dispute between the

nations. It is this War, it is the Treaty that concludes this War, that will make the League of Nations possible. The world has had a great fright. We all remember what used to be said by the great military writers, and what was believed by everybody, as to the length of the next great war. It could not last longer than six weeks—three months, perhaps. That was the conviction of everybody at the beginning of this War—it would be very sharp, but it would be short. The nations could not go on beyond a few months. That was the conviction of Germany. She would never have entered upon this War if she had known it would last so long. The world knows now that the conditions of modern warfare, with its ponderous armaments, with its trundling heavy machinery, rather conduce to lengthen war. The world is frightened. It also realises the peril of small disputes. A little quarrel about a murder in Bosnia, and the world is aflame. There are many things the world has realised and is prepared to take into account and to provide against. This League of Nations is an attempt to do it by some less barbarous methods than war. Let us try it. I beg this country to try it seriously, and try it in earnest. It is due to mankind that we should try it. Anything except the horror of the last four and a half years! If you must come to that, well you must, but do let us try this. Take Article 12 of this Covenant:

The Members of the League——

which means the nations of the earth——

agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry.

Then I think nine months elapses. Supposing that had been in existence in 1914, it would have been difficult for Germany and Austria to have gone to War. They could not have done it, and, if they had, America would have been in on the first day and not three years afterwards, which would have made a great difference, and made all the difference. You could not have had the War in 1914 if the League of Nations had been in existence. With this machinery I am not going to say you will never have war. Man is a savage animal. You have only to go to the field of Verdun, which is a narrow circle where about 3,000,000 of men were engaged in deadly conflict for five months and where the earth is like congealed human savagery, to see what a terrible being man is when he is roused. If it averts one war, the League of Nations will have justified itself. If you let one generation pass without the blood of millions being spilt and without the agony which fills so many homes, the League of Nations will have been justified. I beg no one to sneer at the League of Nations. Let us try it. I believe it will succeed in stopping something. It may not stop everything. The world has gone from war to war until at last we have despaired of stopping it. But society with all its organisations has not stopped every crime. What it does is that it makes crime difficult or unsuccessful, and that is what the League of Nations will do. Therefore I look to it with hope and with confidence.

ADMISSION OF GERMANY TO LEAGUE.

But they say why do not you let Germany in at once? Well, I thought a good deal about that, and if I thought it would have been better for the peace of the world I would not have minded the clamour. But I do not think it would be better for Germany either. I think you must let some time elapse. It is very difficult to forget some things. It is difficult, especially for France. It is rather difficult for us, but it is especially difficult for France. More than that, I am not sure that, if you introduced Germany now before all the questions that remain for settlement have been disposed of, you would not open up a field for intrigue, mischief and dissension, and harm would be done. It would be a mistake, in my view, for Germany to come in immediately. The date when Germany comes in depends on herself. She can accelerate it. If she places obstacles in the way, if she shows that the same old spirit animates her, she will put off that date. But if Germany shows that she has really broken with her past, if she shows that the fires of war have really purified her soul—if she shows at any rate that she realises that her policy for the last 150 years was a bitter mistake, then Germany can accelerate the date. I am hoping that she will find this mistake, and that she will realise that her defeat has been her salvation, ridding her of militarism, of Junkers and of Hohenzollerns. She has paid a big price for her deliverance. I think she will find it is worth it all. When she does, Germany will then be a fit member of the League of Nations. The sooner that comes about the better it will be for Germany and for the world.

ALLIES' MANDATES.

With regard to the mandates for the Colonies, it was decided in the negotiations that the German Colonies should be disposed of, not by way of distributing them amongst the conquerors, but rather by way of entrusting them to great Powers to be administered in the name and on behalf of humanity, and the conditions under which these mandates were entrusted to the various countries differed according to the particular territory disposed of. For instance, South-West Africa, running as it does side by side with Cape Colony, was felt to be so much a part, geographically, of that area that it would be quite impossible to treat it in the same way as you would a colony 2,000 miles or 3,000 miles away from a centre of administration. There is no doubt at all that South-West Africa will become an integral part of the Federation of South Africa. It will be colonised by people from South Africa. You could not have done anything else. You could not have set customs barriers and have a different system of administration. The same thing applies to New Guinea, part of which is already under the administration of the Australian Commonwealth. You could not have had that part under one system of administration, and the next part under another. It is so near the Australian Commonwealth that it was felt that it ought to be treated as if it were part of the Australian Commonwealth. That does not apply to Togoland, the Cameroons, or German East Africa, and therefore there was a different system of mandate

set up there. But if hon. Members will look at the conditions of the mandates they will find that they are the conditions which apply in respect of British Colonies throughout the world now—freedom of conscience and religion, prohibition of the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or of military and naval bases, the prohibition of the military training of the natives for other than police purposes, and the defence of territory. We have never raised an army for aggressive purposes in any of these Colonies. Equal opportunities for trade and commerce—we have allowed that in all our Colonies without distinction. So that you find that the conditions of the mandate described here are the conditions which we ourselves have always applied in respect to British Colonies throughout the world. Under this mandate the responsibilities of the British Empire have been enormously increased. Something like 800,000 square miles have been added to the gigantic charge already on the shoulders of this Empire, a charge which has undoubtedly been fulfilled in a way which has won the wonder of the whole world. There have been constant references to British administration, its efficiency, its fairness, its gentleness to the natives, the manner in which it won its way, the confidence that it established everywhere—that was a common matter of observation throughout the whole of this great Conference in Paris.

LABOUR CONVENTION.

The other great condition of Peace is the Labour Convention which has been added to this document. This is a matter of very vital importance for the future industrial conditions of the world. It is intended to secure better and more uniform conditions of labour. When you bear in mind that at least three-fourths of the armies that won this great victory were drawn from the working classes of the various nations you feel that they have won a right to a corner of their own in this great Treaty, and I am very glad that, largely through the negotiations of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Barnes), this charter has been added to the Treaty. Competition is becoming keener, and the markets of the world have been invaded from low-paid countries where the conditions are very degraded, and the mere existence of these conditions in other countries made it difficult to effect improvement in our own, notably with regard to child labour. Now, I hope that by means of the machinery set up in this document, it will be possible to establish some permanent means by which you can raise the level of labour throughout the world, without the countries which are treating labour well being handicapped in the neutral markets where they have to compete with lands where labour has inferior conditions. That is the great purpose of that great charter, and I have no doubt these conferences, representing not merely workmen, but employers of labour, as well as officials of Government Departments, will in themselves promote goodwill and a better understanding amongst the nations of the earth.

BRITAIN'S PART IN WAR.

The victory, the fruits of which are scheduled in this Treaty, has been a tremendous achievement, but no country has had a greater share in that achievement than the British Empire. I make no apology for referring to that, because I am a little afraid we have not informed the world—I am not sure we have informed ourselves—as to the splendid part which this great commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire has had in this the greatest achievement in the history of the struggles for human freedom. Let me give one or two figures. I wonder how many men here at the centre of government know the number of men raised by the British Empire for its Army and its Navy in the War. Seven million seven hundred thousand men ! The amount raised by loans and revenue for the conduct of the War runs to £9,500,000,000. That is the biggest contribution made by any country. The total casualties of the Empire have been over 3,000,000. Without its Navy, without its great mercantile marine, where should we have been ? I had to refresh my memory as to these gallant sailors who, without demur, without fear, without delay, responded to the call of duty and kept the traffic of the world going, fed the Allies, supplied the Allies, gave strength to the arm of the Allies. Fifteen thousand of them have been killed. The mercantile marine and the Navy kept the seas. Without them the War would have collapsed in six months. In the last two years of the War—1917–18—and here is a fact that is little known in this country or abroad—the heaviest fighting, judged by casualties, was undertaken and carried through by the armies of Britain, even in France. In addition to that, whilst we were carrying the heaviest share of the burden there in the matter of hard, ruthless, relentless fighting, with British doggedness and resistlessness, the armies of Britain had the whole burden of the attack upon the Turkish Empire, and that Empire was brought down crumbling to the dust by the strength of British arms. I think we are entitled to call attention to these things.

UNITED EFFORTS NEEDED.

It is a great record for a country which at the beginning of the War had only an army that was treated with contempt. It shows—and I want to say this with emphasis—what can be achieved by a great people united and inspired by a common purpose. Let us rejoice over the victory, but let us rejoice as men who are not under the delusion that all our troubles are over, but rather like men who feel that the first and the worst of our troubles are past, and that the spirit, courage, and resolution which enabled us to overcome these will also enable us cheerfully to face what is to come. Let us not waste our strength prematurely in fighting each other. The time will come when that may be quite necessary in order to keep us in trim. But do not let us do it prematurely. We are not out of our troubles yet. We have no strength to spare if we are to save—and I say this in all solemnity—this country from sinking under its burdens and its wounds. The ravages of war have to be repaired. The revelations of war have to be profited by in

trade, in industry, in commerce, in the health of the people, and in their housing conditions. We want to make the most effective use of the resources of this land and of the Empire. We want to make all reasonable men contented. Unreasonable men you will never content, even if you place them in Paradise.

SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM.

Here let me refer to the Victory Loan. We lent thousands of millions to sow the seeds of victory. Do let us lend hundreds of millions to garner in the harvest, so that it shall not rot on the fields. The losses of the War will take a deal of repairing. Reparation is not a matter of receiving German instalments. That is a small part. We must each and all give such instalments of strength, of good will, of co-operation, and of intelligence as we can command. The country needs it, every grain of it. The strength, the power of every land has been drained and exhausted by this terrible War to an extent one can hardly realise. The nations have bled at every vein, and this restlessness which you get everywhere to-day is the fever of anaemia. There is a tendency in many quarters to assume that now we have won the victory and Peace is established all will come right without any effort, that plenty will spring up unaided from the blood-stained ground, and that all that is left is the scramble. Let us first of all see that there is something to scramble for. What have we got? Output diminished, cost of production increasing. That is exactly the opposite road to that which leads to prosperity. Even Bolshevik Russia is beginning to realise that that method of procedure is one which brings nothing but hopelessness, and it is gradually trying to escape from it. Let us think together, act together, work together. I beg that we do not demobilise the spirit of patriotism in this country. Keep it in the ranks until the country has won through to its real victory. That spirit alone won us the War. That spirit alone can bring us a real and glorious triumph.

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AND

GERMANY

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY and JAPAN,

These Powers being described in the present Treaty as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers,

BELGIUM, BOLIVIA, BRAZIL, CHINA, CUBA, ECUADOR, GREECE, GUATEMALA, HAITI, THE HEDJAZ, HONDURAS, LIBERIA, NICARAGUA, PANAMA, PERU, POLAND, PORTUGAL, ROUMANIA, THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE, SIAM, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA and URUGUAY,

These Powers constituting with the Principal Powers mentioned above the Allied and Associated Powers,

of the one part;

And GERMANY,

of the other part;

Bearing in mind that on the request of the Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on November 11, 1918, to Germany by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in order that a Treaty of Peace might be concluded with her, and

The Allied and Associated Powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on August 1, 1914, and against France on August 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just and durable Peace,

For this purpose the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES represented as follows :

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, by :

The Honourable Woodrow WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority ;

PREAMBLE

The Honourable Robert LANSING, Secretary of State ;
 The Honourable Henry WHITE, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris ;
 The Honourable Edward M. HOUSE ;
 General Tasker H. BLISS, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA, by :

The Right Honourable David LLOYD GEORGE, M.P., First Lord of His Treasury and Prime Minister ;
 The Right Honourable Andrew BONAR LAW, M.P., His Lord Privy Seal ;
 The Right Honourable Viscount MILNER, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., His Secretary of State for the Colonies ;
 The Right Honourable Arthur James BALFOUR, O.M., M.P., His Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ;
 The Right Honourable George Nicoll BARNES, M.P., Minister without portfolio ;

And

for the DOMINION of CANADA, by :

The Honourable Charles Joseph DOHERTY, Minister of Justice ;
 The Honourable Arthur Lewis SIFTON, Minister of Customs ;

for the COMMONWEALTH of AUSTRALIA, by :

The Right Honourable William Morris HUGHES, Attorney General and Prime Minister ;
 The Right Honourable Sir Joseph COOK, G.C.M.G., Minister for the Navy ;

for the UNION of SOUTH AFRICA, by :

General the Right Honourable Louis BOTHA, Minister of Native Affairs and Prime Minister ;
 Lieutenant-General the Right Honourable Jan Christiaan SMUTS, K.C., Minister of Defence ;

for the DOMINION of NEW ZEALAND, by :

The Right Honourable William Ferguson MASSEY,
Minister of Labour and Prime Minister ;

for INDIA, by :

The Right Honourable Edwin Samuel MONTAGU, M.P.,
His Secretary of State for India ;

Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh
Bahadur, Maharaja of BIKANER, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C. ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by :

Mr. Georges CLEMENCEAU, President of the Council,
Minister of War ;

Mr. Stephen PICHON, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

Mr. Louis Lucien KLOTZ, Minister of Finance ;

Mr. André TARDIEU, Commissary General for Franco-
American Military Affairs ;

Mr. Jules CAMBON, Ambassador of France ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY, by :

Baron S. SONNINO, Deputy ;

Marquis G. IMPERIALI, Senator, Ambassador of His
Majesty the King of Italy at London ;

Mr. S. CRESPI, Deputy ;

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, by :

Marquis SAÏONZI, formerly President of the Council of
Ministers ;

Baron MAKINO, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Member of the Diplomatic Council ;

Viscount CHINDA, Ambassador Extraordinary and Pleni-
potentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at London ;

Mr. K. MATSUI, Ambassador Extraordinary and Pleni-
potentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris ;

Mr. H. IJUIN, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipo-
tentiaty of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at Rome ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, by :

Mr. Paul HYMANS, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister
of State ;

Mr. Jules van den HEUVEL, Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary, Minister of State ;

Mr. Emile VANDERVELDE, Minister of Justice, Minister of State ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA, by :

Mr. Ismael MONTES, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia at Paris ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL, by :

Mr. João Pandiá CALOGERAS, Deputy, formerly Minister of Finance ;

Mr. Raul FERNANDES, Deputy ;

Mr. Rodrigo Octavio de L. MENEZES, Professor of International Law at Rio de Janeiro ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, by :

Mr. Lou TSENG-TSIANG, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

Mr. Chengting Thomas WANG, formerly Minister of Agriculture and Commerce ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, by :

Mr. Antonio Sánchez de BUSTAMANTE, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Havana, President of the Cuban Society of International Law ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR, by :

Mr. Enrique DORN Y DE ALSÚA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Ecuador at Paris ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES, by :

Mr. Eleftherios K. VENISÉLOS, President of the Council of Ministers ;

Mr. Nicholas POLITIS, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA, by :

Mr. Joaquin MÉNDEZ, formerly Minister of State for Public Works and Public Instruction, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Guatemala at Washington, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on special mission at Paris ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI, by :

Mr. Tertullien GUILBAUD, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Haiti at Paris ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ, by :

Mr. Rustem HAÏDAR ;

Mr. Abdul Hadi AOUNI ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS,
by :

Dr. Policarpo BONILLA, on special mission to Washington,
formerly President of the Republic of Honduras,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, by :
The Honourable Charles Dunbar Burgess KING, Secretary
of State ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA,
by :

Mr. Salvador CHAMORRO, President of the Chamber of
Deputies ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, by :
Mr. Antonio BURGOS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of Panama at Madrid ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PERU, by :
Mr. Carlos G. CANDAMO, Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru at Paris ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC, by :
Mr. Ignace J. PADEREWSKI, President of the Council of
Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;
Mr. Roman Dmowski, President of the Polish National
Committee ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC,
by :

Dr. Affonso Augusto da COSTA, formerly President of
the Council of Ministers ;

Dr. Augusto Luiz Vieira SOARES, formerly Minister for
Foreign Affairs ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ROUMANIA, by :

Mr. Ion I. C. BRATIANO, President of the Council of
Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

General Constantin COANDA, Corps Commander, A.D.C.
to the King, formerly President of the Council of
Ministers ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE CROATS
AND THE SLOVENES, by :

Mr. Nicholas P. PACHITCH, formerly President of the
Council of Ministers ;

Mr. Ante TRUMBIC, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

Mr. Milenko VESNITCH, Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of the
Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes at Paris ;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF SIAM, by :

His Highness Prince CHAROON, Envoy Extraordinary
and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of
Siam at Paris ;

His Serene Highness Prince Traidos PRABANDHU, Under
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC,
by :

Mr. Karel KRAMÁŘ, President of the Council of Ministers ;
Mr. Eduard Beneš, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY,
by :

Mr. Juan Antonio BUERO, Minister for Foreign Affairs,
formerly Minister of Industry ;

GERMANY, by :

Mr. Hermann MÜLLER, Minister for Foreign Affairs of
the Empire ;

Dr. BELL, Minister of the Empire ;

Acting in the name of the German Empire and of each
and every component State.

WHO having communicated their full powers found in
good and due form have AGREED AS FOLLOWS :

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the state
of war will terminate. From that moment and subject to the
provisions of this Treaty official relations with Germany, and
with any of the German States, will be resumed by the Allied
and Associated Powers.

NOTE.—China did not sign the Treaty.

PART I

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

- by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
- by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,
- by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and
- by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1.

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations

under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2.

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 3.

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE 4.

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council

shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

ARTICLE 5.

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6.

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the Annex ; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7.

The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8.

The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

ARTICLE 10.

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12.

The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13.

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any

question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE 15.

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be

made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in

by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16.

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17.

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute,

upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18.

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19.

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20.

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the

duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21.

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition

of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League :

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations ;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control ;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general super-

THE COVENANT OF THE

- vision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs ;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest ;
 - (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind ;
 - (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24.

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25.

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26.

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

Annex

**I. ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
SIGNATORIES OF THE TREATY OF PEACE**

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.	HAITI.
BELGIUM.	HEDJAZ.
BOLIVIA.	HONDURAS.
BRAZIL.	ITALY.
BRITISH EMPIRE.	JAPAN.
CANADA.	LIBERIA.
AUSTRALIA.	NICARAGUA.
SOUTH AFRICA.	PANAMA.
NEW ZEALAND.	PERU.
INDIA.	POLAND.
CHINA.	PORTUGAL.
CUBA.	ROUMANIA.
ECUADOR.	SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE.
FRANCE.	SIAM.
GREECE.	CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.
GUATEMALA.	URUGUAY.

STATES INVITED TO ACCEDE TO THE COVENANT

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.	PERSIA.
CHILI.	SALVADOR.
COLOMBIA.	SPAIN.
DENMARK.	SWEDEN.
NETHERLANDS.	SWITZERLAND.
NORWAY.	VENEZUELA.
PARAGUAY.	

**II.—FIRST SECRETARY GENERAL
OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

The Honourable Sir James Eric DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G., C.B.

PART II

BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY

ARTICLE 27.

The boundaries of Germany will be determined as follows :

1. *With Belgium :*

From the point common to the three frontiers of Belgium, Holland and Germany and in a southerly direction :

the north-eastern boundary of the former territory of *neutral Moresnet*, then the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Eupen, then the frontier between Belgium and the *Kreis* of Montjoie, then the north-eastern and eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Malmédy to its junction with the frontier of Luxemburg.

2. *With Luxemburg :*

The frontier of August 3, 1914, to its junction with the frontier of France of July 18, 1870.

3. *With France :*

The frontier of July 18, 1870, from Luxemburg to Switzerland with the reservations made in Article 48 of Section IV (Saar Basin) of Part III.

4. *With Switzerland :*

The present frontier.

5. *With Austria :*

The frontier of August 3, 1914, from Switzerland to Czechoslovakia as hereinafter defined.

6. *With Czechoslovakia :*

The frontier of August 3, 1914, between Germany and Austria from its junction with the old administrative boundary separating Bohemia and the province of Upper Austria to the point north of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated at about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt.

7. *With Poland :*

From the point defined above to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometres east of Lorzendorf :

the frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Article 88 of the present Treaty ;

thence in a northerly direction to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania crosses the river Bartsch :

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places in Poland : Skorischau, Reichthal, Trembatschau, Kunzendorf, Schleise, Gross Kosel, Schreibersdorf, Rippin, Fürstlich-Nieffken, Pawelau, Tscheschen, Konradau, Johannisdorf, Modzenowe, Bogdaj, and in Germany : Lorzendorf, Kaulwitz, Glausche, Dalbersdorf, Reesewitz, Stradam, Gross Wartenberg, Kraschen, Neu Mittelwalde, Domaslawitz, Wedelsdorf, Tscheschen Hammer ;

thence the administrative boundary of Posnania north-westwards to the point where it cuts the Rawitsch-Herrnstadt railway ;

thence to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania cuts the Reisen-Tschirnau road :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Triebusch and Gabel and east of Saborwitz ;

thence the administrative boundary of Posnania to its junction with the eastern administrative boundary of the *Kreis* of Fraustadt ;

thence in a north-westerly direction to a point to be chosen on the road between the villages of Unruhstadt and Kopnitz :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Geyersdorf, Brenno, Fehlen, Altkloster, Klebel, and east of Ulbersdorf, Buchwald, Ilgen, Weine, Lupitze, Schwenten ;

thence in a northerly direction to the northernmost point of Lake Chlop :

a line to be fixed on the ground following the median line of the lakes ; the town and the station of Bentschen however (including the junction of the lines Schwiebus-Bentschen and Züllichau-Bentschen) remaining in Polish territory ;

thence in a north-easterly direction to the point of junction of the boundaries of the *Kreise* of Schwerin, Birnbaum and Meseritz :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Betsche ;

thence in a northerly direction the boundary separating the *Kreise* of Schwerin and Birnbaum, then in an easterly direction the northern boundary of Posnania and to the point where it cuts the river Netze ;

thence upstream to its confluence with the Küddow :

the course of the Netze ;

thence upstream to a point to be chosen about 6 kilometres south-east of Schneidemühl :

the course of the Küddow ;

thence north-eastwards to the most southern point of the re-entrant of the northern boundary of Posnania about 5 kilometres west of Stahren :

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the Schneidemühl-Konitz railway in this area entirely in German territory ;

thence the boundary of Posnania north-eastwards to the point of the salient it makes about 15 kilometres east of Flatow ;

thence north-eastwards to the point where the river Kami-
onka meets the southern boundary of the *Kreis* of Konitz about 3 kilometres north-east of Grunau :

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places to Poland : Jasdrowo, Gr. Lutau, Kl. Lutau, Wittkau, and to Germany : Gr. Butzig, Cziskowo, Battrow, Böck, Grunau ;

thence in a northerly direction the boundary between the *Kreise* of Konitz and Schlochau to the point where this boundary cuts the river Brahe ;

thence to a point on the boundary of Pomerania 15 kilo-
metres east of Rummelsburg :

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places in Poland : Konarzin, Kelpin, Adl. Briesen, and in Germany : Sampohl, Neuguth, Steinfort, Gr. Peterkau ;

then the boundary of Pomerania in an easterly direction to its junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Konitz and Schlochau ;

thence northwards the boundary between Pomerania and West Prussia to the point on the river Rheda about 3 kilometres north-west of Gohra where that river is joined by a tributary from the north-west ;

thence to a point to be selected in the bend of the Piasnitz river about $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres north-west of Warschkau :

a line to be fixed on the ground ;

thence this river downstream, then the median line of Lake Zarnowitz, then the old boundary of West Prussia to the Baltic Sea.

8. With Denmark :

The frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Articles 109 to 111 of Part III, Section XII (Schleswig).

ARTICLE 28.

The boundaries of East Prussia, with the reservations made in Section IX (East Prussia) of Part III, will be determined as follows :

from a point on the coast of the Baltic Sea about $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres north of Pröbbernau church in a direction of about 159° East from true North :

a line to be fixed on the ground for about 2 kilometres ;

thence in a straight line to the light at the bend of the Elbing Channel in approximately latitude $54^{\circ} 19\frac{1}{2}'$ North, longitude $19^{\circ} 26'$ East of Greenwich ;

thence to the easternmost mouth of the Nogat River at a bearing of approximately 209° East from true North ;

thence up the course of the Nogat River to the point where the latter leaves the Vistula (Weichsel) ;

thence up the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula, then the southern boundary of the *Kreis* of Marienwerder, then that of the *Kreis* of Rosenberg eastwards to the point where it meets the old boundary of East Prussia ;

thence the old boundary between East and West Prussia, then the boundary between the *Kreise* of Osterode and Neidenburg, then the course of the river Skottau downstream, then the course of the Neide upstream to a point situated about 5 kilometres west of Bialutten being the nearest point to the old frontier of Russia ;

thence in an easterly direction to a point immediately south of the intersection of the road Neidenburg—Mlava with the old frontier of Russia :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Bialutten ;

thence the old frontier of Russia to a point east of Schmal-leningken, then the principal channel of navigation of the Niemen (Memel) downstream, then the Skierwieth arm of the delta to the Kurisches Haff ;

thence a straight line to the point where the eastern shore of the Kurische Nehrung meets the administrative boundary about 4 kilometres south-west of Nidden ;

thence this administrative boundary to the western shore of the Kurische Nehrung.

ARTICLE 29.

The boundaries as described above are drawn in red on a one-in-a-million map which is annexed to the present Treaty (Map No. 1).

In the case of any discrepancies between the text of the Treaty and this map or any other map which may be annexed, the text will be final.

ARTICLE 30.

In the case of boundaries which are defined by a waterway, the terms "course" and "channel" used in the present Treaty signify : in the case of non-navigable rivers, the median line of the waterway or of its principal arm, and, in the case of navigable rivers, the median line of the principal channel of navigation. It will rest with the Boundary Commissions provided by the present Treaty to specify in each case whether the frontier line shall follow any changes of the course or channel which may take place or whether it shall be definitely fixed by the position of the course or channel at the time when the present Treaty comes into force.

PART III

POLITICAL CLAUSES FOR EUROPE

SECTION I

BELGIUM

ARTICLE 31.

Germany, recognising that the Treaties of April 19, 1839, which established the status of Belgium before the war, no longer conform to the requirements of the situation, consents to the abrogation of the said treaties and undertakes immediately to recognise and to observe whatever conventions may be entered into by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, or by any of them, in concert with the Governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands, to replace the said Treaties of 1839. If her formal adhesion should be required to such conventions or to any of their stipulations, Germany undertakes immediately to give it.

ARTICLE 32.

Germany recognises the full sovereignty of Belgium over the whole of the contested territory of Moresnet (called *Moresnet neutre*).

ARTICLE 33.

Germany renounces in favour of Belgium all rights and title over the territory of Prussian Moresnet situated on the west of the road from Liège to Aix-la-Chapelle ; the road will belong to Belgium where it bounds this territory.

ARTICLE 34.

Germany renounces in favour of Belgium all rights and title over the territory comprising the whole of the *Kreise* of Eupen and of Malmédy.

During the six months after the coming into force of this Treaty, registers will be opened by the Belgian authorities at Eupen and Malmédy in which the inhabitants of the above territory will be entitled to record in writing a desire to see the whole or part of it remain under German sovereignty.

The results of this public expression of opinion will be communicated by the Belgian Government to the League of Nations, and Belgium undertakes to accept the decision of the League.

ARTICLE 35.

A Commission of seven persons, five of whom will be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany and one by Belgium, will be set up fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty to settle on the spot the new frontier line between Belgium and Germany, taking into account the economic factors and the means of communication.

Decisions will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 36.

When the transfer of the sovereignty over the territories referred to above has become definitive, German nationals habitually resident in the territories will definitively acquire Belgian nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality.

Nevertheless, German nationals who became resident in the territories after August 1, 1914, shall not obtain Belgian nationality without a permit from the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 37.

Within the two years following the definitive transfer of the sovereignty over the territories assigned to Belgium under

. the present Treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in those territories will be entitled to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territories acquired by Belgium. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 38.

The German Government will hand over without delay to the Belgian Government the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial or other administrations in the territory transferred to Belgian sovereignty.

The German Government will likewise restore to the Belgian Government the archives and documents of every kind carried off during the war by the German authorities from the Belgian public administrations, in particular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

ARTICLE 39.

The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia which Belgium will have to bear on account of the territories ceded to her shall be fixed in conformity with Articles 254 and 256 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

SECTION II

LUXEMBURG

ARTICLE 40.

With regard to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, Germany renounces the benefit of all the provisions inserted in her favour in the Treaties of February 8, 1842, April 2, 1847, October 20-25, 1865, August 18, 1866, February 21 and May 11, 1867, May 10,

1871, June 11, 1872, and November 11, 1902, and in all Conventions consequent upon such Treaties.

Germany recognises that the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg ceased to form part of the German Zollverein as from January 1, 1919, renounces all rights to the exploitation of the railways, adheres to the termination of the régime of neutrality of the Grand Duchy, and accepts in advance all international arrangements which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers relating to the Grand Duchy.

ARTICLE 41.

Germany undertakes to grant to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, when a demand to that effect is made to her by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the rights and advantages stipulated in favour of such Powers or their nationals in the present Treaty with regard to economic questions, to questions relative to transport and to aerial navigation.

SECTION III

LEFT BANK OF THE RHINE

ARTICLE 42.

Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the East of the Rhine.

ARTICLE 43.

In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manœuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilisation, are in the same way forbidden.

ARTICLE 44.

In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present Treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

SECTION IV SAAR BASIN

ARTICLE 45.

As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment towards the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, Germany cedes to France in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation, unencumbered and free from all debts and charges of any kind, the coal mines situated in the Saar Basin as defined in Article 48.

ARTICLE 46.

In order to assure the rights and welfare of the population and to guarantee to France complete freedom in working the mines, Germany agrees to the provisions of Chapters I and II of the Annex hereto.

ARTICLE 47.

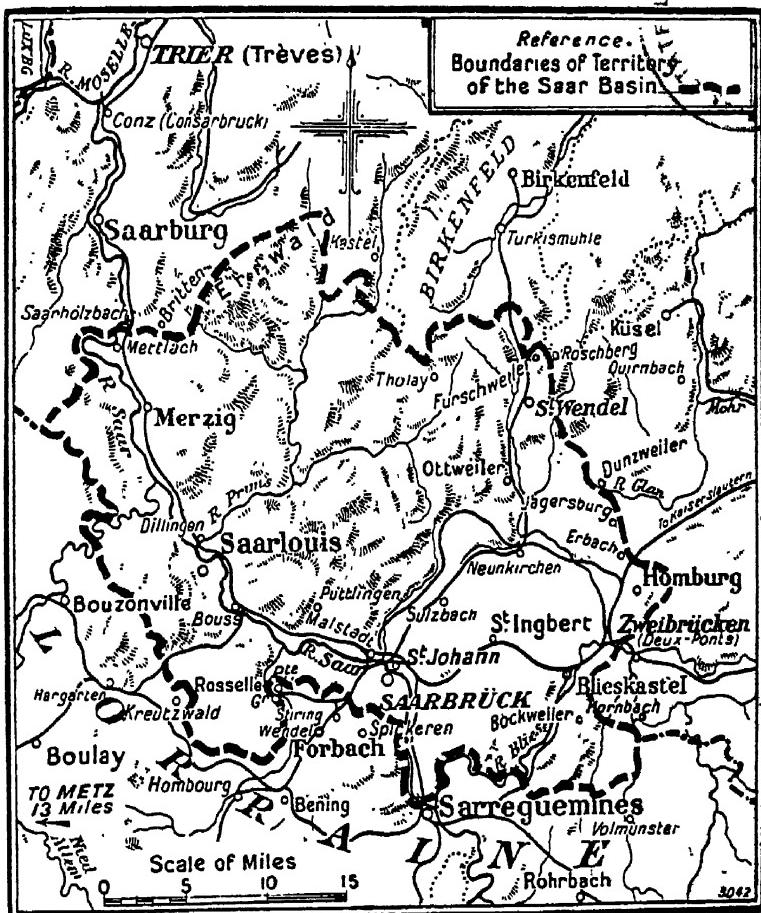
In order to make in due time permanent provision for the government of the Saar Basin in accordance with the wishes of the population, France and Germany agree to the provisions of Chapter III of the Annex hereto.

ARTICLE 48.

The boundaries of the territory of the Saar Basin, as dealt with in the present stipulations, will be fixed as follows :

On the south and south-west : by the frontier of France as fixed by the present Treaty.

On the north-west and north : by a line following the northern administrative boundary of the *Kreis* of Merzig from the point where it leaves the French frontier to the point where it meets the administrative boundary separating the commune of Saarhölzbach from the commune of Britten ; following this communal boundary southwards and reaching the administrative boundary of the canton of Merzig so as to include in the territory of the Saar Basin the canton of Mettlach, with the exception of the commune of Britten ; following successively the northern administrative boundaries of the cantons of Merzig and Haustadt, which are incorporated in the aforesaid Saar Basin, then successively the administrative boundaries separating the *Kreise* of Sarrelouis, Ottweiler and Saint-Wendel



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE SAAR VALLEY

from the *Kreise* of Merzig, Trèves (Trier) and the Principality of Birkenfeld as far as a point situated about 500 metres north of the village of Furschweiler (viz., the highest point of the Metzelberg).

On the north-east and east : from the last point defined above to a point about $3\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres east-north-east of Saint-Wendel :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Furschweiler, west of Roschberg, east of points 418, 329 (south of Roschberg), west of Leitersweiler, north-east of point 464, and following the line of the crest southwards to its junction with the administrative boundary of the *Kreis* of Kusel ;

thence in a southerly direction the boundary of the *Kreis* of Kusel, then the boundary of the *Kreis* of Homburg towards the south-south-east to a point situated about 1,000 metres west of Dunzweiler ;

thence to a point about 1 kilometre south of Hornbach :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing through point 424 (about 1,000 metres south-east of Dunzweiler), point 363 (Fuchs-Berg), point 322 (south-west of Waldmohr), then east of Jägersburg and Erbach, then encircling Homburg, passing through the points 361 (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres north-east by east of that town), 342 (about 2 kilometres south-east of that town), 347 (Schreiners-Berg), 356, 350 (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres south-east of Schwarzenbach), then passing east of Einöd, south-east of points 322 and 333, about 2 kilometres east of Webenheim, about 2 kilometres east of Mimbach, passing east of the plateau which is traversed by the road from Mimbach to Böckweiler (so as to include this road in the territory of the Saar Basin), passing immediately north of the junction of the roads from Böckweiler and Altheim situated about 2 kilometres north of Altheim, then passing south of Ringweilerhof and north of point 322, rejoining the frontier of France at the angle which it makes about 1 kilometre south of Hornbach (see Map No. 2 scale 1/100,000 annexed to the present Treaty).

A Commission composed of five members, one appointed by France, one by Germany, and three by the Council of the League of Nations, which will select nationals of other Powers, will be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to trace on the spot the frontier line described above.

In those parts of the preceding line which do not coincide with administrative boundaries the Commission will endeavour to keep to the line indicated, while taking into consideration, so far as is possible, local economic interests and existing communal boundaries.

The decisions of this Commission will be taken by a majority, and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 49.

Germany renounces in favour of the League of Nations, in the capacity of trustee, the government of the territory defined above.

At the end of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the inhabitants of the said territory shall be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they desire to be placed.

ARTICLE 50.

The stipulations under which the cession of the mines in the Saar Basin shall be carried out, together with the measures intended to guarantee the rights and the well-being of the inhabitants and the government of the territory, as well as the conditions in accordance with which the plebiscite herein-before provided for is to be made, are laid down in the Annex hereto. This Annex shall be considered as an integral part of the present Treaty, and Germany declares her adherence to it.

Annex

In accordance with the provisions of Articles 45 to 50 of the present Treaty, the stipulations under which the cession by Germany to France of the mines of the Saar Basin will be effected, as well as the measures intended to ensure respect for the rights and well-being of the population and the government of the territory, and the conditions in which the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they may wish to be placed, have been laid down as follows :

CHAPTER I

CESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF MINING PROPERTY

I.

From the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, all the deposits of coal situated within the Saar Basin, as defined in Article 48 of the said Treaty, become the complete and absolute property of the French State.

The French State will have the right of working or not working

the said mines, or of transferring to a third party the right of working them, without having to obtain any previous authorisation or to fulfil any formalities.

The French State may always require that the German mining laws and regulations referred to below shall be applied in order to ensure the determination of its rights.

2.

The right of ownership of the French State will apply not only to the deposits which are free and for which concessions have not yet been granted, but also to the deposits for which concessions have already been granted, whoever may be the present proprietors, irrespective of whether they belong to the Prussian State, to the Bavarian State, to other States or bodies, to companies or to individuals, whether they have been worked or not, or whether a right of exploitation distinct from the right of the owners of the surface of the soil has or has not been recognised.

3.

As far as concerns the mines which are being worked, the transfer of the ownership to the French State will apply to all the accessories and subsidiaries of the said mines, in particular to their plant and equipment both on and below the surface, to their extracting machinery, their plants for transforming coal into electric power, coke and by-products, their workshops, means of communication, electric lines, plant for catching and distributing water, land, buildings such as offices, managers', employees' and workmen's dwellings, schools, hospitals and dispensaries, their stocks and supplies of every description, their archives and plans, and in general everything which those who own or exploit the mines possess or enjoy for the purpose of exploiting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The transfer will apply also to the debts owing for products delivered before the entry into possession by the French State, and after the signature of the present Treaty, and to deposits of money made by customers, whose rights will be guaranteed by the French State.

4.

The French State will acquire the property free and clear of all debts and charges. Nevertheless, the rights acquired, or in course of being acquired, by the employees of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in connection with pensions for old age or disability, will not be affected. In return, Germany must pay over to the French State a sum representing the actuarial amounts to which the said employees are entitled.

5.

The value of the property thus ceded to the French State will be determined by the Reparation Commission referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII (Reparation) of the present Treaty.

This value shall be credited to Germany in part payment of the amount due for reparation.

It will be for Germany to indemnify the proprietors or parties concerned, whoever they may be.

6.

No tariff shall be established on the German railways and canals which may directly or indirectly discriminate to the prejudice of the transport of the personnel or products of the mines and their accessories or subsidiaries, or of the material necessary to their exploitation. Such transport shall enjoy all the rights and privileges which any international railway conventions may guarantee to similar products of French origin.

7.

The equipment and personnel necessary to ensure the despatch and transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the carriage of workmen and employees, will be provided by the local railway administration of the Basin.

8.

No obstacle shall be placed in the way of such improvements of railways or waterways as the French State may judge necessary to assure the despatch and the transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, such as double trackage, enlargement of stations, and construction of yards and appurtenances. The distribution of expenses will, in the event of disagreement, be submitted to arbitration.

The French State may also establish any new means of communication, such as roads, electric lines and telephone connections which it may consider necessary for the exploitation of the mines.

It may exploit freely and without any restrictions the means of communication of which it may become the owner, particularly those connecting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries with the means of communication situated in French territory.

9.

The French State shall always be entitled to demand the application of the German mining laws and regulations in force on November 11, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war, with a view to the acquisition of such land as it may judge necessary for the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The payment for damage caused to immovable property by the working of the said mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall be made in accordance with the German mining laws and regulations above referred to.

10.

Every person whom the French State may substitute for itself as regards the whole or part of its rights to the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall enjoy the benefit of the privileges provided in this Annex.

11.

The mines and other immovable property which become the property of the French State may never be made the subject of measures of forfeiture, forced sale, expropriation or requisition, nor of any other measure affecting the right of property.

The personnel and the plant connected with the exploitation of these mines or their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the product extracted from the mines or manufactured in their accessories and subsidiaries, may not at any time be made the subject of any measures of requisition.

12.

The exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, which become the property of the French State, will continue, subject to the provisions of paragraph 23 below, to be subject to the régime established by the German laws and regulations in force on November 11, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war.

The rights of the workmen shall similarly be maintained, subject to the provisions of the said paragraph 23, as established on November 11, 1918, by the German laws and regulations above referred to.

No impediment shall be placed in the way of the introduction or employment in the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries of workmen from without the Basin.

The employees and workmen of French nationality shall have the right to belong to French labour unions.

13.

The amount contributed by the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, either to the local budget of the territory of the Saar Basin or to the communal funds, shall be fixed with due regard to the ratio of the value of the mines to the total taxable wealth of the Basin.

14.

The French State shall always have the right of establishing and maintaining, as incidental to the mines, primary or technical schools for its employees and their children, and of causing instruction therein to be given in the French language, in accordance with such curriculum and by such teachers as it may select.

It shall also have the right to establish and maintain hospitals, dispensaries, workmen's houses and gardens and other charitable and social institutions.

15.

The French State shall enjoy complete liberty with respect to the distribution, despatch and sale prices of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

Nevertheless, whatever may be the total product of the mines, the French Government undertakes that the requirements of local consumption for industrial and domestic purposes shall always be satisfied in the proportion existing in 1913 between the amount consumed locally and the total output of the Saar Basin.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE SAAR BASIN

16.

The Government of the territory of the Saar Basin shall be entrusted to a Commission representing the League of Nations. The Commission shall sit in the territory of the Saar Basin.

17.

The Governing Commission provided for by paragraph 16 shall consist of five members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, and will include one citizen of France, one native inhabitant of the Saar Basin, not a citizen of France, and three members belonging to three countries other than France or Germany.

The members of the Governing Commission shall be appointed for one year and may be re-appointed. They can be removed by the Council of the League of Nations, which will provide for their replacement.

The members of the Governing Commission will be entitled to a salary which will be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations, and charged on the local revenues.

18.

The Chairman of the Governing Commission shall be appointed for one year from among the members of the Commission by the Council of the League of Nations and may be re-appointed.

The Chairman will act as the executive of the Commission.

19.

Within the territory of the Saar Basin the Governing Commission shall have all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia, or Bavaria, including the appointment and dismissal of officials, and the creation of such administrative and representative bodies as it may deem necessary.

It shall have full powers to administer and operate the railways, canals and the different public services.

Its decisions shall be taken by a majority.

20.

Germany will place at the disposal of the Governing Commission all official documents and archives under the control of Germany, of any German State, or of any local authority, which relate to the territory of the Saar Basin or to the rights of the inhabitants thereof.

21.

It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to ensure, by such means and under such conditions as it may deem suitable, the protection abroad of the interests of the inhabitants of the territory of the Saar Basin.

22.

The Governing Commission shall have the full right of user of all property, other than mines, belonging, either in public or in private

domain, to the Government of the German Empire, or the Government of any German State, in the territory of the Saar Basin.

As regards the railways an equitable apportionment of rolling stock shall be made by a mixed Commission on which the Government of the territory of the Saar Basin and the German railways will be represented.

Persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails coming from or going to the Saar Basin shall enjoy all the rights and privileges relating to transit and transport which are specified in the provisions of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty.

23.

The laws and regulations in force on November 11, 1918, in the territory of the Saar Basin (except those enacted in consequence of the state of war) shall continue to apply.

If, for general reasons or to bring these laws and regulations into accord with the provisions of the present Treaty, it is necessary to introduce modifications, these shall be decided on, and put into effect by the Governing Commission, after consultation with the elected representatives of the inhabitants in such a manner as the Commission may determine.

No modification may be made in the legal régime for the exploitation of the mines, provided for in paragraph 12, without the French State being previously consulted, unless such modification results from a general regulation respecting labour adopted by the League of Nations.

In fixing the conditions and hours of labour for men, women and children, the Governing Commission is to take into consideration the wishes expressed by the local labour organisations, as well as the principles adopted by the League of Nations.

24.

Subject to the provisions of paragraph 4, no rights of the inhabitants of the Saar Basin acquired or in process of acquisition at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in respect of any insurance system of Germany or in respect of any pension of any kind, are affected by any of the provisions of the present Treaty.

Germany and the Government of the territory of the Saar Basin will preserve and continue all of the aforesaid rights.

25.

The civil and criminal courts existing in the territory of the Saar Basin shall continue.

A civil and criminal court will be established by the Governing Commission to hear appeals from the decisions of the said courts and to decide matters for which these courts are not competent.

The Governing Commission will be responsible for settling the organisation and jurisdiction of the said court.

Justice will be rendered in the name of the Governing Commission.

26.

The Governing Commission will alone have the power of levying taxes and dues in the territory of the Saar Basin.

These taxes and dues will be exclusively applied to the needs of the territory.

The fiscal system existing on November 11, 1918, will be maintained as far as possible, and no new tax except customs duties may be imposed without previously consulting the elected representatives of the inhabitants.

27.

The present stipulations will not affect the existing nationality of the inhabitants of the territory of the Saar Basin.

No hindrance shall be placed in the way of those who wish to acquire a different nationality, but in such case the acquisition of the new nationality will involve the loss of any other.

28.

Under the control of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will retain their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools and their language.

The right of voting will not be exercised for any assemblies other than the local assemblies, and will belong to every inhabitant over the age of twenty years, without distinction of sex.

29.

Any of the inhabitants of the Saar Basin who may desire to leave the territory will have full liberty to retain in it their immovable property or to sell it at fair prices, and to remove their movable property free of any charges.

30.

There will be no military service, whether compulsory or voluntary, in the territory of the Saar Basin, and the construction of fortifications therein is forbidden.

Only a local gendarmerie for the maintenance of order may be established.

It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property in the Saar Basin.

31.

The territory of the Saar Basin as defined by Article 48 of the present Treaty shall be subjected to the French customs régime. The receipts from the customs duties on goods intended for local consumption shall be included in the budget of the said territory after deduction of all costs of collection.

No export tax shall be imposed upon metallurgical products or coal exported from the said territory to Germany, nor upon German exports for the use of the industries of the territory of the Saar Basin.

Natural or manufactured products originating in the Basin in transit over German territory and, similarly, German products in transit over the territory of the Basin shall be free of all customs duties.

Products which both originate in and pass from the Basin into Germany shall be free of import duties for a period of five years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and during the same period articles imported from Germany into the territory of the Basin for local consumption shall likewise be free of import duties.

During these five years the French Government reserves to itself the right of limiting to the annual average of the quantities imported

into Alsace-Lorraine and France in the years 1911 to 1913 the quantities which may be sent into France of all articles coming from the Basin which include raw materials and semi-manufactured goods imported duty free from Germany. Such average shall be determined after reference to all available official information and statistics.

32.

No prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the circulation of French money in the territory of the Saar Basin.

The French State shall have the right to use French money in all purchases, payments and contracts connected with the exploitation of the mines or their accessories and subsidiaries.

33.

The Governing Commission shall have power to decide all questions arising from the interpretation of the preceding provisions.

France and Germany agree that any dispute involving a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the said provisions shall in the same way be submitted to the Governing Commission, and the decision of a majority of the Commission shall be binding on both countries.

CHAPTER III

PLEBISCITE

34.

At the termination of a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the population of the territory of the Saar Basin will be called upon to indicate their desires in the following manner :

A vote will take place by communes or districts, on the three following alternatives : (a) Maintenance of the régime established by the present Treaty and by this Annex ; (b) union with France ; (c) union with Germany.

All persons without distinction of sex, more than twenty years old at the date of the voting, resident in the territory at the date of the signature of the present Treaty, will have the right to vote.

The other conditions, methods and the date of the voting shall be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations in such a way as to secure the freedom, secrecy and trustworthiness of the voting.

35.

The League of Nations shall decide on the sovereignty under which the territory is to be placed, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants as expressed by the voting :

(a) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favour of the maintenance of the régime established by the present Treaty and this Annex, Germany hereby agrees to make such renunciation of her sovereignty in favour of the League of Nations as the latter shall deem necessary. It will be the duty of the League of Nations to take appropriate steps to adapt the régime definitively

adopted to the permanent welfare of the territory and the general interest;

(b) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favour of union with France, Germany hereby agrees to cede to France in accordance with the decision of the League of Nations all rights and title over the territory specified by the League;

(c) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favour of union with Germany, it will be the duty of the League of Nations to cause the German Government to be re-established in the government of the territory specified by the League.

36.

If the League of Nations decides in favour of the union of the whole or part of the territory of the Saar Basin with Germany, France's rights of ownership in the mines situated in such part of the territory will be repurchased by Germany in their entirety at a price payable in gold. The price to be paid will be fixed by three experts, one nominated by Germany, one by France, and one, who shall be neither a Frenchman nor a German, by the Council of the League of Nations; the decision of the experts will be given by a majority.

The obligation of Germany to make such payment shall be taken into account by the Reparation Commission, and for the purpose of this payment Germany may create a prior charge upon her assets or revenues upon such detailed terms as shall be agreed to by the Reparation Commission.

If, nevertheless, Germany after a period of one year from the date on which payment becomes due shall not have effected the said payment, the Reparation Commission shall do so in accordance with such instructions as may be given by the League of Nations, and, if necessary, by liquidating that part of the mines which is in question.

37.

If, in consequence of the repurchase provided for in paragraph 36, the ownership of the mines or any part of them is transferred to Germany, the French State and French nationals shall have the right to purchase such amount of coal of the Saar Basin as their industrial and domestic needs are found at that time to require. An equitable arrangement regarding amounts of coal, duration of contract, and prices will be fixed in due time by the Council of the League of Nations.

38.

It is understood that France and Germany may, by special agreements concluded before the time fixed for the payment of the price for the repurchase of the mines, modify the provisions of paragraphs 36 and 37.

39.

The Council of the League of Nations shall make such provisions as may be necessary for the establishment of the régime which is to take effect after the decisions of the League of Nations mentioned in paragraph 35 have become operative, including an equitable apportionment of any obligations of the Government of the territory of the

Saar Basin arising from loans raised by the Commission or from other causes.

From the coming into force of the new régime, the powers of the Governing Commission will terminate, except in the case provided for in paragraph 35 (a).

40.

In all matters dealt with in the present Annex, the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations will be taken by a majority.

SECTION V ALSACE-LORRAINE

The HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, recognising the moral obligation to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871 both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, which were separated from their country in spite of the solemn protest of their representatives at the Assembly of Bordeaux,

Agree upon the following Articles :

ARTICLE 51.

The territories which were ceded to Germany in accordance with the Preliminaries of Peace signed at Versailles on February 26, 1871, and the Treaty of Frankfort of May 10, 1871, are restored to French sovereignty as from the date of the Armistice of November 11, 1918.

The provisions of the Treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored.

ARTICLE 52.

The German Government shall hand over without delay to the French Government all archives, registers, plans, titles and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial or other administrations of the territories restored to French sovereignty. If any of these documents, archives, registers, titles, or plans have been misplaced, they will be restored by the German Government on the demand of the French Government.

ARTICLE 53.

Separate agreements shall be made between France and Germany dealing with the interests of the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51, particularly as regards their

civil rights, their business and the exercise of their professions, it being understood that Germany undertakes as from the present date to recognise and accept the regulations laid down in the Annex hereto regarding the nationality of the inhabitants or natives of the said territories, not to claim at any time or in any place whatsoever as German nationals those who shall have been declared on any ground to be French, to receive all others in her territory, and to conform, as regards the property of German nationals in the territories indicated in Article 51, with the provisions of Article 297 and the Annex to Section IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Those German nationals who without acquiring French nationality shall receive permission from the French Government to reside in the said territories shall not be subjected to the provisions of the said Article.

ARTICLE 54.

Those persons who have regained French nationality in virtue of paragraph 1 of the Annex hereto, will be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers for the purposes of the present Section.

The persons referred to in paragraph 2 of the said Annex will from the day on which they have claimed French nationality be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers with retroactive effect as from November 11, 1918. For those whose application is rejected, the privilege will terminate at the date of the refusal.

Such juridical persons will also have the status of Alsace-Lorrainers as shall have been recognised as possessing this quality, whether by the French administrative authorities or by a judicial decision.

ARTICLE 55.

The territories referred to in Article 51 shall return to France, free and quit of all public debts, under the conditions laid down in Article 255 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 56.

In conformity with the provisions of Article 256 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty, France shall enter into possession of all property and estate within the territories referred to in Article 51, which belong to the German Empire or German States, without any payment or credit on this account to any of the States ceding the territories.

This provision applies to all movable or immovable property of public or private domain together with all rights whatsoever belonging to the German Empire or German States or to their administrative areas.

Crown property and the property of the former Emperor or other German sovereigns shall be assimilated to property of the public domain.

ARTICLE 57.

Germany shall not take any action, either by means of stamping or by any other legal or administrative measures not applying equally to the rest of her territory, which may be to the detriment of the legal value or redeemability of German monetary instruments or monies which, at the date of the signature of the present Treaty, are legally current, and at that date are in the possession of the French Government.

ARTICLE 58.

A special Convention will determine the conditions for repayment in marks of the exceptional war expenditure advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine on account of the Empire in accordance with German law, such as payment to the families of persons mobilised, requisitions, billeting of troops, and assistance to persons who have been evacuated.

In fixing the amount of these sums Germany shall be credited with that portion which Alsace-Lorraine would have contributed to the Empire to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the Imperial revenues derived from Alsace-Lorraine in 1913.

ARTICLE 59.

The French Government will collect for its own account the Imperial taxes, duties and dues of every kind leviable in the territories referred to in Article 51 and not collected at the time of the Armistice of November 11, 1918. .

ARTICLE 60.

The German Government shall without delay restore to Alsace-Lorrainers (individuals, juridical persons and public institutions) all property, rights and interests belonging to them on November 11, 1918, in so far as these are situated in German territory.

ARTICLE 61.

The German Government undertakes to continue and complete without delay the execution of the financial clauses regarding Alsace-Lorraine contained in the Armistice Conventions.

ARTICLE 62.

The German Government undertakes to bear the expense of all civil and military pensions which had been earned in Alsace-Lorraine on the date of November 11, 1918, and the maintenance of which was a charge on the budget of the German Empire.

The German Government shall furnish each year the funds necessary for the payment in francs, at the average rate of exchange for that year, of the sums in marks to which persons resident in Alsace-Lorraine would have been entitled if Alsace-Lorraine had remained under German jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 63.

For the purposes of the obligation assumed by Germany in Part VIII (Reparation) of the present Treaty to give compensation for damages caused to the civil populations of the Allied and Associated countries in the form of fines, the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51 shall be assimilated to the above-mentioned populations.

ARTICLE 64.

The regulations concerning the control of the Rhine and of the Moselle are laid down in Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 65.

Within a period of three weeks after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the port of Strasburg and the port of Kehl shall be constituted, for a period of seven years, a single unit from the point of view of exploitation.

The administration of this single unit will be carried on by a manager named by the Central Rhine Commission, which shall also have power to remove him.

This manager shall be of French nationality.

He will reside in Strasburg and will be subject to the supervision of the Central Rhine Commission.

There will be established in the two ports free zones in conformity with Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty.

A special Convention between France and Germany, which shall be submitted to the approval of the Central Rhine Commission, will fix the details of this organisation, particularly as regards finance.

It is understood that for the purpose of the present Article the port of Kehl includes the whole of the area necessary for the movements of the port and the trains which serve it, including the harbour, quays and railroads, platforms, cranes, sheds and warehouses, silos, elevators and hydro-electric plants, which make up the equipment of the port.

The German Government undertakes to carry out all measures which shall be required of it in order to assure that all the making-up and switching of trains arriving at or departing from Kehl, whether for the right bank or the left bank of the Rhine, shall be carried on in the best conditions possible.

All property rights shall be safeguarded. In particular the administration of the ports shall not prejudice any property rights of the French or Baden railroads.

Equality of treatment as respects traffic shall be assured in both ports to the nationals, vessels and goods of every country.

In case at the end of the sixth year France shall consider that the progress made in the improvement of the port of Strasburg still requires a prolongation of this temporary régime, she may ask for such prolongation from the Central Rhine Commission, which may grant an extension for a period not exceeding three years.

Throughout the whole period of any such extension the free zones above provided for shall be maintained.

Pending appointment of the first manager by the Central Rhine Commission a provisional manager who shall be of French nationality may be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers subject to the foregoing provisions.

For all purposes of the present Article the Central Rhine Commission will decide by a majority of votes.

ARTICLE 66.

The railway and other bridges across the Rhine now existing within the limits of Alsace-Lorraine shall, as to all their parts and their whole length, be the property of the French State, which shall ensure their upkeep.

ARTICLE 67.

The French Government is substituted in all the rights of the German Empire over all the railways which were administered by the Imperial railway administration and which are actually working or under construction.

The same shall apply to the rights of the Empire with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the territories referred to in Article 51.

This substitution shall not entail any payment on the part of the French State.

The frontier railway stations shall be established by a subsequent agreement, it being stipulated in advance that on the Rhine frontier they shall be situated on the right bank.

ARTICLE 68.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 268 of Chapter I of Section I of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, natural or manufactured products originating in and coming from the territories referred to in Article 51 shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The French Government may fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911–1913.

Further, during the period of five years above mentioned, the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany and the free re-importation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges (including internal charges), of yarns, tissues, and other textile materials or textile products of any kind and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories referred to in Article 51, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerisation, gassing, twisting or dressing.

ARTICLE 69.

During a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, central electric supply works situated in German territory and formerly furnishing electric power to

the territories referred to in Article 51 or to any establishment the working of which passes permanently or temporarily from Germany to France, shall be required to continue such supply up to the amount of consumption corresponding to the undertakings and contracts current on November 11, 1918.

Such supply shall be furnished according to the contracts in force and at a rate which shall not be higher than that paid to the said works by German nationals.

ARTICLE 70.

It is understood that the French Government preserves its right to prohibit in the future in the territories referred to in Article 51 all new German participation :

1. In the management or exploitation of the public domain and of public services, such as railways, navigable waterways, water works, gas works, electric power, etc. ;

2. In the ownership of mines and quarries of every kind and in enterprises connected therewith ;

3. In metallurgical establishments, even though their working may not be connected with that of any mine.

ARTICLE 71.

As regards the territories referred to in Article 51, Germany renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals as from November 11, 1918, all rights under the law of May 25, 1910, regarding the trade in potash salts, and generally under any stipulations for the intervention of German organisations in the working of the potash mines. Similarly, she renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals all rights under any agreements, stipulations or laws which may exist to her benefit with regard to other products of the aforesaid territories.

ARTICLE 72.

The settlement of the questions relating to debts contracted before November 11, 1918, between the German Empire and the German States or their nationals residing in Germany on the one part and Alsace-Lorrainers residing in Alsace-Lorraine on the other part shall be effected in accordance with the provisions of Section III of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, the expression "before the war" therein being replaced by the expression "before November 11, 1918." The rate of exchange applicable in the case of such settlement

shall be the average rate quoted on the Geneva Exchange during the month preceding November 11, 1918.

There may be established in the territories referred to in Article 51, for the settlement of the aforesaid debts under the conditions laid down in Section III of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, a special clearing office, it being understood that this office shall be regarded as a "central office" under the provisions of paragraph 1 of the Annex to the said Section.

ARTICLE 73.

The private property, rights and interests of Alsace-Lorrainers in Germany will be regulated by the stipulations of Section IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 74.

The French Government reserves the right to retain and liquidate all the property, rights and interests which German nationals or societies controlled by Germany possessed in the territories referred to in Article 51 on November 11, 1918, subject to the conditions laid down in the last paragraph of Article 53 above.

Germany will directly compensate her nationals who may have been dispossessed by the aforesaid liquidations.

The product of these liquidations shall be applied in accordance with the stipulations of Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 75.

Notwithstanding the stipulations of Section V of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, all contracts made before the date of the promulgation in Alsace-Lorraine of the French decree of November 30, 1918, between Alsace-Lorrainers (whether individuals or juridical persons) or others resident in Alsace-Lorraine on the one part and the German Empire or German States and their nationals resident in Germany on the other part, the execution of which has been suspended by the Armistice or by subsequent French legislation, shall be maintained.

Nevertheless, any contract of which the French Government shall notify the cancellation to Germany in the general interest within a period of six months from the date of the

coming into force of the present Treaty, shall be annulled except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder before November 11, 1918. If this dissolution would cause one of the parties substantial prejudice, equitable compensation, calculated solely on the capital employed without taking account of loss of profits, shall be accorded to the prejudiced party.

With regard to prescriptions, limitations and forfeitures in Alsace-Lorraine, the provisions of Articles 300 and 301 of Section V of Part X (Economic Clauses) shall be applied with the substitution for the expression "outbreak of war" of the expression "November 11, 1918," and for the expression "duration of the war" of the expression "period from November 11, 1918, to the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty."

ARTICLE 76.

Questions concerning rights in industrial, literary or artistic property of Alsace-Lorrainers shall be regulated in accordance with the general stipulations of Section VII of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, it being understood that Alsace-Lorrainers holding rights of this nature under German legislation will preserve full and entire enjoyment of those rights on German territory.

ARTICLE 77.

The German Government undertakes to pay over to the French Government such proportion of all reserves accumulated by the Empire or by public or private bodies dependent upon it, for the purposes of disability and old age insurance as would fall to the disability and old age insurance fund at Strasburg.

The same shall apply in respect of the capital and reserves accumulated in Germany falling legitimately to other social insurance funds, to miners' superannuation funds, to the fund of the railways of Alsace-Lorraine, to other superannuation organisations established for the benefit of the personnel of public administrations and institutions operating in Alsace-Lorraine, and also in respect of the capital and reserves due by the insurance fund of private employees at Berlin, by reason of engagements entered into for the benefit of insured persons of that category resident in Alsace-Lorraine.

A special Convention shall determine the conditions and procedure of these transfers.

ARTICLE 78.

With regard to the execution of judgments, appeals and prosecutions, the following rules shall be applied :

(1.) All civil and commercial judgments which shall have been given since August 3, 1914, by the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine between Alsace-Lorrainers, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and foreigners, or between foreigners, and which shall not have been appealed from before November 11, 1918, shall be regarded as final and susceptible of immediate execution without further formality.

When the judgment has been given between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans or between Alsace-Lorrainers and subjects of the allies of Germany, it shall only be capable of execution after the issue of an *exequatur* by the corresponding new tribunal in the restored territory referred to in Article 51.

(2.) All judgments given by German Courts since August 3, 1914, against Alsace-Lorrainers for political crimes or misdemeanours shall be regarded as null and void.

(3.) All sentences passed since November 11, 1918, by the Court of the Empire at Leipzig on appeals against the decisions of the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be regarded as null and void and shall be so pronounced. The papers in regard to the cases in which such sentences have been given shall be returned to the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine concerned.

All appeals to the Court of the Empire against decisions of the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be suspended. The papers shall be returned under the aforesaid conditions for transfer without delay to the French Cour de Cassation, which shall be competent to decide them.

(4.) All prosecutions in Alsace-Lorraine for offences committed during the period between November 11, 1918, and the coming into force of the present Treaty will be conducted under German law except in so far as this has been modified by decrees duly published on the spot by the French authorities.

(5.) All other questions as to competence, procedure or administration of justice shall be determined by a special Convention between France and Germany.

ARTICLE 79.

The stipulations as to nationality contained in the Annex hereto shall be considered as of equal force with the provisions of the present Section.

All other questions concerning Alsace-Lorraine which are not regulated by the present Section and the Annex thereto or by the general provisions of the present Treaty will form the subject of further conventions between France and Germany.

Annex

1.

As from November 11, 1918, the following persons are *ipso facto* reinstated in French nationality :

(1.) Persons who lost French nationality by the application of the Franco-German Treaty of May 10, 1871, and who have not since that date acquired any nationality other than German ;

(2.) The legitimate or natural descendants of the persons referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph, with the exception of those whose ascendants in the paternal line include a German who migrated into Alsace-Lorraine after July 15, 1870 ;

(3.) All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine of unknown parents, or whose nationality is unknown.

2.

Within the period of one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty, persons included in any of the following categories may claim French nationality :

(1.) All persons not restored to French nationality under paragraph 1 above, whose ascendants include a Frenchman or Frenchwoman who lost French nationality under the conditions referred to in the said paragraph ;

(2.) All foreigners, not nationals of a German State, who acquired the status of a citizen of Alsace-Lorraine before August 3, 1914 ;

(3.) All Germans domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine, if they have been so domiciled since a date previous to July 15, 1870, or if one of their ascendants was at that date domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine ;

(4.) All Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine who have served in the Allied or Associated armies during the present war, and their descendants ;

(5.) All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine before May 10, 1871, of foreign parents, and the descendants of such persons ;

(6.) The husband or wife of any person whose French nationality may have been restored under paragraph 1, or who may have claimed and obtained French nationality in accordance with the preceding provisions.

The legal representative of a minor may exercise, on behalf of that minor, the right to claim French nationality ; and if that right has not been exercised, the minor may claim French nationality within the year following his majority.

Except in the cases provided for in No. 6 of the present paragraph, the French authorities reserve to themselves the right, in individual cases, to reject the claim to French nationality.

3.

Subject to the provisions of paragraph 2, Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine shall not acquire French nationality by reason of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, even though they may have the status of citizens of Alsace-Lorraine.

They may acquire French nationality only by naturalisation, on condition of having been domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine from a date previous to August 3, 1914, and of submitting proof of unbroken residence within the restored territory for a period of three years from November 11, 1918.

France will be solely responsible for their diplomatic and consular protection from the date of their application for French naturalisation.

4.

The French Government shall determine the procedure by which reinstatement in French nationality as of right shall be effected, and the conditions under which decisions shall be given upon claims to such nationality and applications for naturalisation, as provided by the present Annex.

SECTION VI**AUSTRIA****ARTICLE 80.**

Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria, within the frontiers which may be fixed in a Treaty between that State and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers ; she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

SECTION VII**CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE****ARTICLE 81.**

Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognises the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Germany hereby recognises the frontiers of this State as determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested States.

ARTICLE 82.

The old frontier as it existed on August 3, 1914, between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire will constitute the frontier between Germany and the Czecho-Slovak State.

ARTICLE 83.

Germany renounces in favour of the Czecho-Slovak State all rights and title over the portion of Silesian territory defined as follows :

starting from a point about 2 kilometres south-east of Katscher, on the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor :

the boundary between the two *Kreise* ;

then, the former boundary between Germany and Austria-Hungary up to a point on the Oder immediately to the south of the Ratibor-Oderberg railway ;

thence, towards the north-west and up to a point about 2 kilometres to the south-east of Katscher :

a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the west of Kranowitz.

A Commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland and one by the Czecho-Slovak State, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Poland and the Czecho-Slovak State.

The decisions of this Commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Germany hereby agrees to renounce in favour of the Czecho-Slovak State all rights and title over the part of the *Kreis* of Leobschütz comprised within the following boundaries in case after the determination of the frontier between Germany and Poland the said part of that *Kreis* should become isolated from Germany :

from the south-eastern extremity of the salient of the former Austrian frontier at about 5 kilometres to the west of Leobschütz southwards and up to the point of junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor :

the former frontier between Germany and Austria-Hungary ;

then, northwards, the administrative boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor up to a point situated about 2 kilometres to the south-east of Katscher ;

thence, north-westwards and up to the starting-point of this definition :

a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the east of Katscher.

ARTICLE 84.

German nationals habitually resident in any of the territories recognised as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State will obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality *ipso facto* and lose their German nationality.

ARTICLE 85.

Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, German nationals over eighteen years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognised as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Czecho-Slovaks who are German nationals and are habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Czecho-Slovak nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their landed property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Within the same period Czechoslovaks who are German nationals and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality and lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Czecho-Slovak State.

ARTICLE 86.

The Czechoslovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

The Czechoslovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the said Powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Germany and Prussia which the Czechoslovak State will have to assume on account of the Silesian territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions not decided by the present Treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

SECTION VIII

POLAND

ARTICLE 87.

Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognises the complete independence of Poland, and renounces in her favour all rights and title over the territory bounded by the Baltic Sea, the eastern frontier of Germany as laid down in Article 27 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty up to a point situated about 2 kilometres to the east of Lorzendorf, then a line to the acute angle which the northern boundary of Upper Silesia makes about 3 kilometres north-west of Simmenau, then the boundary of Upper Silesia to its meeting point with the old frontier between Germany and Russia, then this frontier to the point where it crosses the course of the Niemen, and then the northern frontier of East Prussia as laid down in Article 28 of Part II aforesaid.

The provisions of this Article do not, however, apply to the territories of East Prussia and the Free City of Danzig, as defined in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) and in Article 100 of Section XI (Danzig) of this Part.

The boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present Treaty will be subsequently determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

A Commission consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated

Powers, one by Germany and one by Poland, shall be constituted fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty to delimit on the spot the frontier line between Poland and Germany.

The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority of votes and shall be binding upon the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 88.

In the portion of Upper Silesia included within the boundaries described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote whether they wish to be attached to Germany or to Poland :

starting from the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt, the former frontier between Germany and Austria to its junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor ;

thence in a northerly direction to a point about 2 kilometres south-east of Katscher :

the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor ;

thence in a south-easterly direction to a point on the course of the Oder immediately south of the Ratibor-Oderberg railway :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Kranowitz ;

thence the old boundary between Germany and Austria, then the old boundary between Germany and Russia to its junction with the administrative boundary between Posnania and Upper Silesia ;

thence this administrative boundary to its junction with the administrative boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia ;

thence westwards to the point where the administrative boundary turns in an acute angle to the south-east about 3 kilometres north-west of Simmenau :

the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia ;

then in a westerly direction to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometres east of Lorzendorf :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Klein Hennersdorf :

thence southwards to the point where the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia cuts the Städtel-Karlsruhe road :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Hennersdorf, Polkowitz, Noldau, Steinersdorf and Dammer, and east of Strehlitz, Nassadel, Eckersdorf, Schwirz and Städtel;

thence the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia to its junction with the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Falkenberg;

then the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Falkenberg to the point of the salient which is 3 kilometres east of Puschine;

thence to the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Zülz.

The régime under which this plebiscite will be taken and given effect to is laid down in the Annex hereto.

The Polish and German Governments hereby respectively bind themselves to conduct no prosecutions on any part of their territory and to take no exceptional proceedings for any political action performed in Upper Silesia during the period of the régime laid down in the Annex hereto and up to the settlement of the final status of the country.

Germany hereby renounces in favour of Poland all rights and title over the portion of Upper Silesia lying beyond the frontier line fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as the result of the plebiscite.

Annex

1.

Within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty the German troops and such officials as may be designated by the Commission set up under the provisions of paragraph 2 shall evacuate the plebiscite area. Up to the moment of the completion of the evacuation they shall refrain from any form of requisitioning in money or in kind and from all acts likely to prejudice the material interests of the country.

Within the same period the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils which have been constituted in this area shall be dissolved. Members of such Councils who are natives of another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, or who have gone out of office since March 1, 1919, shall be evacuated.

All military and semi-military unions formed in the said area by inhabitants of the district shall be immediately disbanded. All members of such military organisations who are not domiciled in the said area shall be required to leave it.

2.

The plebiscite area shall be immediately placed under the authority of an International Commission of four members to be designated by the following Powers : the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Italy. It shall be occupied by troops belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers, and the German Government undertakes to give facilities for the transference of these troops to Upper Silesia.

3.

The Commission shall enjoy all the powers exercised by the German or the Prussian Government, except those of legislation or taxation. It shall also be substituted for the government of the province and the *Regierungsbezirk*.

It shall be within the competence of the Commission to interpret the powers hereby conferred upon it and to determine to what extent it shall exercise them, and to what extent they shall be left in the hands of the existing authorities.

Changes in the existing laws and the existing taxation shall only be brought into force with the consent of the Commission.

The Commission will maintain order with the help of the troops which will be at its disposal, and, to the extent which it may deem necessary, by means of gendarmerie recruited among the inhabitants of the country.

The Commission shall provide immediately for the replacement of the evacuated German officials and, if occasion arises, shall itself order the evacuation of such authorities and proceed to the replacement of such local authorities as may be required.

It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to ensure the freedom, fairness and secrecy of the vote. In particular, it shall have the right to order the expulsion of any person who may in any way have attempted to distort the result of the plebiscite by methods of corruption or intimidation.

The Commission shall have full power to settle all questions arising from the execution of the present clauses. It shall be assisted by technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population.

The decisions of the Commission shall be taken by a majority vote.

4.

The vote shall take place at such date as may be determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, but not sooner than six months or later than eighteen months after the establishment of the Commission in the area.

The right to vote shall be given to all persons without distinction of sex who :

(a) Have completed their twentieth year on the 1st January of the year in which the plebiscite takes place ;

(b) Were born in the plebiscite area or have been domiciled there since a date to be determined by the Commission, which shall not be subsequent to the 1st January, 1919, or who have been expelled by the German authorities and have not retained their domicile there.

Persons convicted of political offences shall be enabled to exercise their right of voting.

Every person will vote in the commune where he is domiciled or in which he was born, if he has not retained his domicile in the area.

The result of the vote will be determined by communes according to the majority of votes in each commune.

5.

On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the frontier of Germany in Upper Silesia. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.

6.

As soon as the frontier has been fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the German authorities will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognised should be German; the said authorities must proceed to do so within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the Commission.

Within the same period and in the manner prescribed by the Commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognised should be Polish.

When the administration of the territory has been provided for by the German and Polish authorities respectively, the powers of the Commission will terminate.

The cost of the army of occupation, and expenditure by the Commission, whether in discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be a charge on the area.

ARTICLE 89.

Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit between East Prussia and the rest of Germany over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favourably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favoured nationality, origin, importation, starting-point, or ownership as regards facilities, restrictions and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

Freedom of transit will extend to telegraphic and telephonic services under the conditions laid down by the conventions referred to in Article 98.

ARTICLE 90.

Poland undertakes to permit for a period of fifteen years the exportation to Germany of the products of the mines in any part of Upper Silesia transferred to Poland in accordance with the present Treaty.

Such products shall be free from all export duties or other charges or restrictions on exportation.

Poland agrees to take such steps as may be necessary to secure that any such products shall be available for sale to purchasers in Germany on terms as favourable as are applicable to like products sold under similar conditions to purchasers in Poland or in any other country.

ARTICLE 91.

German nationals habitually resident in territories recognised as forming part of Poland will acquire Polish nationality *ipso facto* and will lose their German nationality.

German nationals, however, or their descendants who became resident in these territories after January 1, 1908, will not acquire Polish nationality without a special authorisation from the Polish State.

Within a period of two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognised as forming part of Poland will be entitled to opt for German nationality.

Poles who are German nationals over 18 years of age and habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Polish nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt may within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt.

They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties or charges may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Within the same period Poles who are German nationals and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Polish nationality and to lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Polish State.

In the portion of Upper Silesia submitted to a plebiscite the provisions of this Article shall only come into force as from the definitive attribution of the territory.

ARTICLE 92.

The proportion and the nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and Prussia which are to be borne by Poland will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

There shall be excluded from the share of such financial liabilities assumed by Poland that portion of the debt which, according to the finding of the Reparation Commission referred to in the above-mentioned Article, arises from measures adopted by the German and Prussian Governments with a view to German colonisation in Poland.

In fixing under Article 256 of the present Treaty the value of the property and possessions belonging to the German Empire and to the German States which pass to Poland with the territory transferred above, the Reparation Commission shall exclude from the valuation buildings, forests and other State property which belonged to the former Kingdom of Poland; Poland shall acquire these properties free of all costs and charges.

In all the German territory transferred in accordance with the present Treaty and recognised as forming definitely part of Poland, the property, rights and interests of German nationals shall not be liquidated under Article 297 by the Polish Government except in accordance with the following provisions:

1. The proceeds of the liquidation shall be paid direct to the owner;

2. If on his application the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for by Section VI of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, or an arbitrator appointed by that Tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Polish Government outside its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to

award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by the Polish Government.

Further agreements will regulate all questions arising out of the cession of the above territory which are not regulated by the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 93.

Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Poland further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the said Powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

SECTION IX EAST PRUSSIA

ARTICLE 94.

In the area between the southern frontier of East Prussia, as described in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty, and the line described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish to belong:

the western and northern boundary of *Regierungsbezirk* Allenstein to its junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Oletsko and Angerburg; thence, the northern boundary of the *Kreis* of Oletsko to its junction with the old frontier of East Prussia.

ARTICLE 95.

The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined above within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country.

On the expiration of the above-mentioned period the said area will be placed under the authority of an International Commission of five members appointed by the Principal Allied

and Associated Powers. This Commission will have general powers of administration and, in particular, will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to ensure its freedom, fairness and secrecy. The Commission will have all necessary authority to decide any questions to which the execution of these provisions may give rise. The Commission will make such arrangements as may be necessary for assistance in the exercise of its functions by officials chosen by itself from the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority.

Every person, irrespective of sex, will be entitled to vote who :

(a) Is 20 years of age at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and

(b) Was born within the area where the vote will take place or has been habitually resident there from a date to be fixed by the Commission.

Every person will vote in the commune where he is habitually resident or, if not habitually resident in the area, in the commune where he was born.

The result of the vote will be determined by communes (*Gemeinden*) according to the majority of the votes in each commune.

On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region.

If the line fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers is such as to exclude from East Prussia any part of the territory defined in Article 94, the renunciation of its rights by Germany in favour of Poland, as provided in Article 87 above, will extend to the territories so excluded.

As soon as the line has been fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the authorities administering East Prussia will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory

to the north of the line so fixed, which they shall proceed to do within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the Commission. Within the same period and as prescribed by the Commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory to the south of the line. When the administration of the territory by the East Prussian and Polish authorities respectively has been provided for, the powers of the Commission will terminate.

Expenditure by the Commission, whether in the discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues. East Prussia will be required to bear such proportion of any deficit as may be fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 96.

In the area comprising the *Kreise* of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the portion of the *Kreis* of Marienburg which is situated east of the Nogat and that of Marienwerder east of the Vistula, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote, to be taken in each commune (*Gemeinde*), whether they desire the various communes situated in this territory to belong to Poland or to East Prussia.

ARTICLE 97.

The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined in Article 96 within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country.

On the expiration of the above-mentioned period, the said area will be placed under the authority of an International Commission of five members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. This Commission, supported if occasion arises by the necessary forces, will have general powers of administration and in particular will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to ensure its freedom, fairness and secrecy. The Commission will conform as far as possible to the provisions of the present Treaty relating to the plebiscite in the Allenstein area ; its decisions will be taken by a majority.

Expenditure by the Commission, whether in the discharge

of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues.

On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region, leaving in any case to Poland for the whole of the section bordering on the Vistula full and complete control of the river including the east bank as far east of the river as may be necessary for its regulation and improvement. Germany agrees that in any portion of the said territory which remains German no fortifications shall at any time be erected.

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will at the same time draw up regulations for assuring to the population of East Prussia to the fullest extent and under equitable conditions access to the Vistula and the use of it for themselves, their commerce and their boats.

The determination of the frontier and the foregoing regulations shall be binding upon all the parties concerned.

When the administration of the territory has been taken over by the East Prussian and Polish authorities respectively, the powers of the Commission will terminate.

ARTICLE 98.

Germany and Poland undertake, within one year of the coming into force of this Treaty, to enter into Conventions of which the terms, in case of difference, shall be settled by the Council of the League of Nations, with the object of securing, on the one hand to Germany full and adequate railroad, telegraphic and telephonic facilities for communication between the rest of Germany and East Prussia over the intervening Polish territory, and on the other hand to Poland full and adequate railroad, telegraphic and telephonic facilities for communication between Poland and the Free City of Danzig over any German territory that may, on the right bank of the Vistula, intervene between Poland and the Free City of Danzig.

SECTION X

MEMEL

ARTICLE 99.

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territories included between the Baltic, the north-eastern frontier of East Prussia as defined in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty and the former frontier between Germany and Russia.

Germany undertakes to accept the settlement made by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in regard to these territories, particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.

SECTION XI
FREE CITY OF DANZIG

ARTICLE 100.

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territory comprised within the following limits :

from the Baltic Sea southwards to the point where the principal channels of navigation of the Nogat and the Vistula (Weichsel) meet :

the boundary of East Prussia as described in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty ;

thence the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula downstream to a point about $6\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres north of the bridge of Dirschau ;

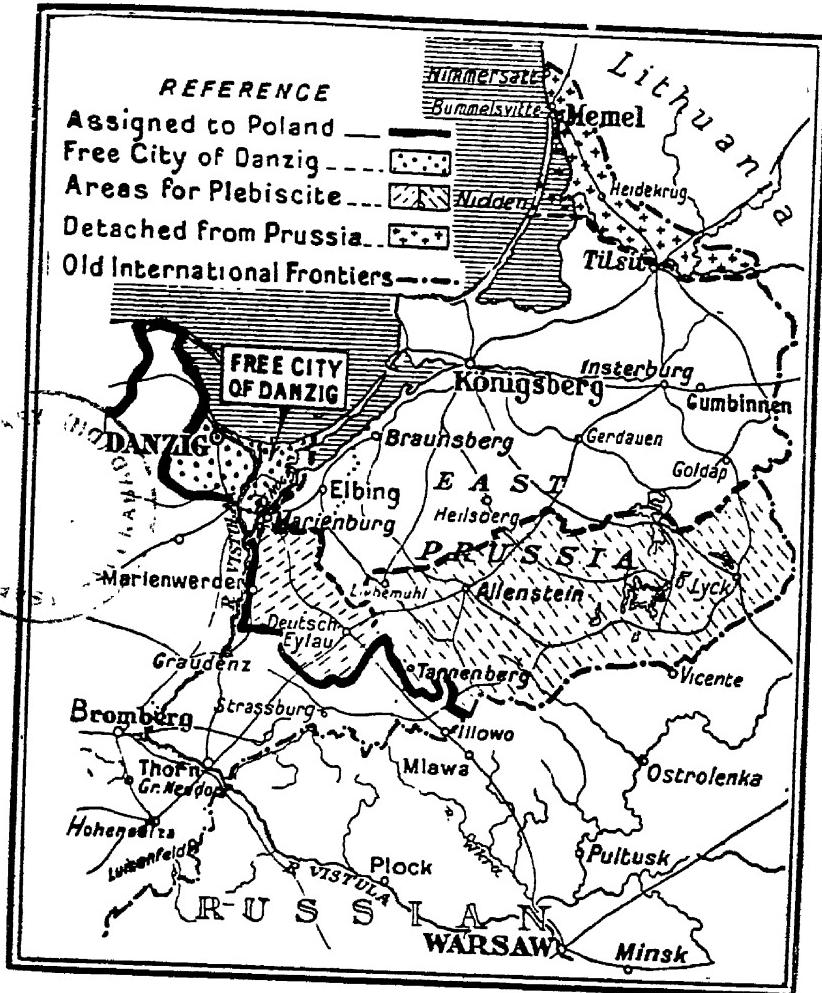
thence north-west to point 5, $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres south-east of the church of Güttland :

a line to be fixed on the ground ;

thence in a general westerly direction to the salient made by the boundary of the *Kreis* of Berent $8\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres north-east of Schöneck :

a line to be fixed on the ground passing between Mühlbanz on the south and Rambeltsch on the north ;

thence the boundary of the *Kreis* of Berent westwards to



MAP ILLUSTRATING DANZIG AND PLEBISCITE AREAS IN EAST PRUSSIA

the re-entrant which it forms 6 kilometres north-north-west of Schöneck;

thence to a point on the median line of Lonkener See:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Neu Fietz and Schatarpi and south of Barenhütte and Lonken;

thence the median line of Lonkener See to its northernmost point;

thence to the southern end of Pollenziner See:

a line to be fixed on the ground;

thence the median line of Pollenziner See to its northernmost point;

thence in a north-easterly direction to a point about 1 kilometre south of Koliebken church, where the Danzig-Neustadt railway crosses a stream:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing south-east of Kamehlen, Krissau, Fidlin, Sulmin (Richthof), Mattern Schäferei, and to the north-west of Neuendorf, Marschau, Czapielken, Hoch- and Klein-Kelpin, Pulvermühl, Renneberg and the towns of Oliva and Zoppot;

thence the course of the stream mentioned above to the Baltic Sea.

The boundaries described above are drawn on a German map scale 1/100,000, attached to the present Treaty (Map No. 3).

ARTICLE 101.

A Commission composed of three members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, including a High Commissioner as President, one member appointed by Germany and one member appointed by Poland, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the coming into force of the present Treaty for the purpose of delimiting on the spot the frontier of the territory as described above, taking into account as far as possible the existing communal boundaries.

ARTICLE 102.

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to establish the town of Danzig, together with the rest of the territory described in Article 100, as a Free City. It will be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 103.

A constitution for the Free City of Danzig shall be drawn up by the duly appointed representatives of the Free City in agreement with a High Commissioner to be appointed by the League of Nations. This constitution shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

The High Commissioner will also be entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the Free City of Danzig in regard to this Treaty or any arrangements or agreements made thereunder.

The High Commissioner shall reside at Danzig.

ARTICLE 104.

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to negotiate a Treaty between the Polish Government and the Free City of Danzig, which shall come into force at the same time as the establishment of the said Free City, with the following objects :

(1) To effect the inclusion of the Free City of Danzig within the Polish Customs frontiers, and to establish a free area in the port ;

(2) To ensure to Poland without any restriction the free use and service of all waterways, docks, basins, wharves and other works within the territory of the Free City necessary for Polish imports and exports ;

(3) To ensure to Poland the control and administration of the Vistula and of the whole railway system within the Free City, except such street and other railways as serve primarily the needs of the Free City, and of postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and the port of Danzig ;

(4) To ensure to Poland the right to develop and improve the waterways, docks, basins, wharves, railways and other works and means of communication mentioned in this Article, as well as to lease or purchase through appropriate processes such land and other property as may be necessary for these purposes ;

(5) To provide against any discrimination within the Free City of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech ;

(6) To provide that the Polish Government shall undertake

the conduct of the foreign relations of the Free City of Danzig as well as the diplomatic protection of citizens of that city when abroad.

ARTICLE 105.

On the coming into force of the present Treaty German nationals ordinarily resident in the territory described in Article 100 will *ipso facto* lose their German nationality, in order to become nationals of the Free City of Danzig.

ARTICLE 106.

Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age ordinarily resident in the territory described in Article 100 will have the right to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

All persons who exercise the right of option referred to above must during the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

These persons will be entitled to preserve the immovable property possessed by them in the territory of the Free City of Danzig. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties shall be imposed upon them in this connection.

ARTICLE 107.

All property situated within the territory of the Free City of Danzig belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers for transfer to the Free City of Danzig or to the Polish State as they may consider equitable.

ARTICLE 108.

The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia to be borne by the Free City of Danzig shall be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

All other questions which may arise from the cession of the territory referred to in Article 100 shall be settled by further agreements.

SECTION XII
SCHLESWIG

ARTICLE 109.

The frontier between Germany and Denmark shall be fixed in conformity with the wishes of the population.

For this purpose, the population inhabiting the territories of the former German Empire situated to the north of a line, from East to West (shown by a brown line on the Map No. 4, annexed to the present Treaty) :

leaving the Baltic Sea about 13 kilometres east-north-east of Flensburg,

running

south-west so as to pass south-east of : Sygum, Ringsberg, Munkbrarup, Adelby, Tastrup, Jarplund, Oversee, and north-west of : Langballigholz, Langballig, Bönstrup, Rüllschau, Weseby, Kleinwolstrup, Gross-Solt,

thence westwards passing south of Frörup and north of Wanderup,

thence in a south-westerly direction passing south-east of Oxlund, Stieglund and Ostenu and north-west of the villages on the Wanderup-Kollund road.

thence in a north-westerly direction passing south-west of Löwenstedt, Joldelund, Goldelund, and north-east of Kolkerheide and Högel to the bend of the Soholmer Au, about 1 kilometre east of Soholm, where it meets the southern boundary of the *Kreis* of Tondern,

following this boundary to the North Sea,

passing south of the islands of Fohr and Amrum and north of the islands of Oland and Langeness,

shall be called upon to pronounce by a vote which will be taken under the following conditions :

(1.) Within a period not exceeding ten days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the German troops and authorities (including the *Oberpräsidenten*, *Regierungs-präsidenten*, *Landräthe*, *Amts Vorsteher*, *Oberbürgermeister*) shall evacuate the zone lying to the north of the line above fixed.

Within the same period the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils which have been constituted in this zone shall be dissolved ; members of such Councils who are natives of

another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, or who have gone out of office since March 1, 1919, shall also be evacuated.

The said zone shall immediately be placed under the authority of an International Commission, composed of five members, of whom three will be designated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers ; the Norwegian and Swedish Governments will each be requested to designate a member ; in the event of their failing to do so, these two members will be chosen by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

The Commission, assisted in case of need by the necessary forces, shall have general powers of administration. In particular, it shall at once provide for filling the places of the evacuated German authorities, and if necessary shall itself give orders for their evacuation, and proceed to fill the places of such local authorities as may be required. It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to ensure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. It shall be assisted by German and Danish technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority.

One-half of the expenses of the Commission and of the expenditure occasioned by the plebiscite shall be paid by Germany.

(2.) The right to vote shall be given to all persons, without distinction of sex, who :

(a) Have completed their twentieth year at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty ; and

(b) Were born in the zone in which the plebiscite is taken, or have been domiciled there since a date before January 1, 1900, or had been expelled by the German authorities without having retained their domicile there.

Every person will vote in the commune (*Gemeinde*) where he is domiciled or of which he is a native.

Military persons, officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the German army, who are natives of the zone of Schleswig in which the plebiscite is taken, shall be given opportunity to return to their native place in order to take part in the voting there.

(3.) In the section of the evacuated zone lying to the north of a line, from East to West (shown by a red line on Map No. 4 which is annexed to the present Treaty) :

passing south of the island of Alsen and following the median line of Flensburg Fjord,

leaving the fjord about 6 kilometres north of Flensburg and following the course of the stream flowing past Kupfermühle upstream to a point north of Niehuus,

passing north of Pattburg and Ellund and south of Fröslee to meet the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Tondern at its junction with the boundary between the old jurisdictions of Slogs and Kjær (*Slogs Herred* and *Kjær Herred*),

following the latter boundary to where it meets the Scheidebek,

following the course of the Scheidebek (Alte Au), Süder Au and Wied Au downstream successively to the point where the latter bends northwards about 1,500 metres west of Ruttebüll,

thence in a west-north-westerly direction to meet the North Sea north of Sieltoft,

thence passing north of the island of Sylt,
the vote above provided for shall be taken within a period not exceeding three weeks after the evacuation of the country by the German troops and authorities.

The result will be determined by the majority of votes cast in the whole of this section. This result will be immediately communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and proclaimed.

If the vote results in favour of the reincorporation of this territory in the Kingdom of Denmark, the Danish Government in agreement with the Commission will be entitled to effect its occupation with their military and administrative authorities immediately after the proclamation.

(4.) In the section of the evacuated zone situated to the south of the preceding section and to the north of the line which starts from the Baltic Sea 13 kilometres from Flensburg and ends north of the islands of Oland and Langeness, the vote will be taken within a period not exceeding five weeks after the plebiscite shall have been held in the first section.

The result will be determined by communes (*Gemeinden*), in accordance with the majority of the votes cast in each commune (*Gemeinde*).

ARTICLE 110.

Pending a delimitation on the spot, a frontier line will be fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers according

to a line based on the result of the voting and proposed by the International Commission, and taking into account the particular geographical and economic conditions of the localities in question.

From that time the Danish Government may effect the occupation of these territories with the Danish civil and military authorities, and the German Government may reinstate up to the said frontier line the German civil and military authorities whom it has evacuated.

Germany hereby renounces definitively in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights of sovereignty over the territories situated to the north of the frontier line fixed in accordance with the above provisions. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will hand over the said territories to Denmark.

ARTICLE 111.

A Commission composed of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Denmark, and one by Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the date when the final result of the vote is known, to trace the frontier line on the spot.

The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority of votes and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 112.

All the inhabitants of the territory which is returned to Denmark will acquire Danish nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality.

Persons, however, who had become habitually resident in this territory after October 1, 1918, will not be able to acquire Danish nationality without permission from the Danish Government.

ARTICLE 113.

Within two years from the date on which the sovereignty over the whole or part of the territory of Schleswig subjected to the plebiscite is restored to Denmark :

Any person over 18 years of age, born in the territory restored to Denmark, not habitually resident in this region, and possessing German nationality, will be entitled to opt for Denmark ;

Any person over 18 years of age habitually resident in the territory restored to Denmark will be entitled to opt for Germany.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State in favour of which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain the immovable property which they own in the territory of the other State in which they were habitually resident before opting. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 114.

The proportion and nature of the financial or other obligations of Germany and Prussia which are to be assumed by Denmark will be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Further stipulations will determine any other questions arising out of the transfer to Denmark of the whole or part of the territory of which she was deprived by the Treaty of October 30, 1864.

SECTION XIII HELIGOLAND

ARTICLE 115.

The fortifications, military establishments, and harbours of the Islands of Heligoland and Dune shall be destroyed under the supervision of the Principal Allied Governments by German labour and at the expense of Germany within a period to be determined by the said Governments.

The term "harbours" shall include the north-east mole, the west wall, the outer and inner breakwaters and reclaimed land within them, and all naval and military works, fortifications and buildings, constructed or under construction, between lines connecting the following positions taken from the British Admiralty chart No. 126 of April 19, 1918 :

- (a). lat. $54^{\circ} 10' 49''$ N. ; long. $7^{\circ} 53' 39''$ E. ;
- (b). — $54^{\circ} 10' 35''$ N. ; — $7^{\circ} 54' 18''$ E. ;
- (c). — $54^{\circ} 10' 14''$ N. ; — $7^{\circ} 54' 00''$ E. ;
- (d). — $54^{\circ} 10' 17''$ N. ; — $7^{\circ} 53' 37''$ E. ;
- (e). — $54^{\circ} 10' 44''$ N. ; — $7^{\circ} 53' 26''$ E. .

These fortifications, military establishments and harbours shall not be reconstructed ; nor shall any similar works be constructed in future.

SECTION XIV

RUSSIA AND RUSSIAN STATES

ARTICLE 116.

Germany acknowledges and agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all the territories which were part of the former Russian Empire on August 1, 1914.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 259 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) and Article 292 of Part X (Economic Clauses) Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and of all other treaties, conventions and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia.

The Allied and Associated Powers formally reserve the rights of Russia to obtain from Germany restitution and reparation based on the principles of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 117.

Germany undertakes to recognise the full force of all treaties or agreements which may be entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on August 1, 1914, and to recognise the frontiers of any such States as determined therein.

PART IV

GERMAN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OUTSIDE GERMANY

ARTICLE 118.

In territory outside her European frontiers as fixed by the present Treaty, Germany renounces all rights, titles and privileges whatever in or over territory which belonged to her or to her allies, and all rights, titles and privileges whatever their origin which she held as against the Allied and Associated Powers.

Germany hereby undertakes to recognise and to conform

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to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, in agreement where necessary with third Powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

In particular Germany declares her acceptance of the following Articles relating to certain special subjects.

SECTION I GERMAN COLONIES

ARTICLE 119.

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions.

ARTICLE 120.

All movable and immovable property in such territories belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority over such territories, on the terms laid down in Article 257 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty. The decision of the local courts in any dispute as to the nature of such property shall be final.

ARTICLE 121.

The provisions of Sections I and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty shall apply in the case of these territories whatever be the form of Government adopted for them.

ARTICLE 122.

The Government exercising authority over such territories may make such provisions as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation from them of German nationals and to the conditions upon which German subjects of European origin shall, or shall not, be allowed to reside, hold property, trade or exercise a profession in them.

ARTICLE 123.

The provisions of Article 260 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty shall apply in the case of all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of public works in the German oversea possessions,

as well as any sub-concessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals.

ARTICLE 124.

Germany hereby undertakes to pay, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by the French Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or the frontier zone by reason of the acts of the German civil and military authorities and of German private individuals during the period from January 1, 1900, to August 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 125.

Germany renounces all rights under the Conventions and Agreements with France of November 4, 1911, and September 28, 1912, relating to Equatorial Africa. She undertakes to pay to the French Government, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by that Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, all the deposits, credits, advances, etc., effected by virtue of these instruments in favour of Germany.

ARTICLE 126.

Germany undertakes to accept and observe the agreements made or to be made by the Allied and Associated Powers or some of them with any other Power with regard to the trade in arms and spirits, and to the matters dealt with in the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, and the General Act of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the Conventions completing or modifying the same.

ARTICLE 127.

The native inhabitants of the former German oversea possessions shall be entitled to the diplomatic protection of the Governments exercising authority over these territories.

SECTION II

CHINA

ARTICLE 128.

Germany renounces in favour of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol signed at Peking on September 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise

renounces in favour of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to March 14, 1917.

ARTICLE 129.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them respectively :

(1) The Arrangement of August 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff.

(2) The Arrangement of September 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary Arrangement of April 4, 1912.

China, however, will no longer be bound to grant to Germany the advantages or privileges which she allowed Germany under these Arrangements.

ARTICLE 130.

Subject to the provisions of Section VIII of this Part, Germany cedes to China all the buildings, wharves and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property belonging to the German Government, which are situated or may be in the German Concessions at Tientsin and Hankow or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the German public and private property situated within the so-called Legation Quarter at Peking, without the consent of the Diplomatic Representatives of the Powers which, on the coming into force of the present Treaty, remain Parties to the Final Protocol of September 7, 1901.

ARTICLE 131.

Germany undertakes to restore to China within twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all the astronomical instruments which her troops in 1900-1901 carried away from China, and to defray all expenses which may be incurred in effecting such restoration, including the expenses of dismounting, packing, transporting, insurance and installation in Peking.

ARTICLE 132.

Germany agrees to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the German Concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above areas, declares her intention of opening them to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which these concessions are now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who are holders of lots in these concessions.

ARTICLE 133.

Germany waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any Allied or Associated Government arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China, or the liquidation, sequestration or control of German properties, rights and interests in that country since August 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 134.

Germany renounces in favour of the Government of His Britannic Majesty the German State property in the British Concession at Shameen, at Canton. She renounces in favour of the French and Chinese Governments conjointly the property of the German school situated in the French Concession at Shanghai.

SECTION III**SIAM****ARTICLE 135.**

Germany recognises that all treaties, conventions and agreements between her and Siam, and all rights, title and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extra-territorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917.

ARTICLE 136.

All goods and property in Siam belonging to the German Empire or to any German State, with the exception of premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, pass *ipso facto* and without compensation to the Siamese Government.

The goods, property and private rights of German nationals in Siam shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 137.

Germany waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself or her nationals arising out of the seizure or condemnation of German ships, the liquidation of German property, or the internment of German nationals in Siam. This provision shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

SECTION IV**LIBERIA****ARTICLE 138.**

Germany renounces all rights and privileges arising from the arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, and particularly the right to nominate a German Receiver of Customs in Liberia.

She further renounces all claim to participate in any measures whatsoever which may be adopted for the rehabilitation of Liberia.

ARTICLE 139.

Germany recognises that all treaties and arrangements between her and Liberia terminated as from August 4, 1917.

ARTICLE 140.

The property, rights and interests of Germans in Liberia shall be dealt with in accordance with Part X (Economic Clauses) of the Present Treaty.

SECTION V

MOROCCO

ARTICLE 141.

Germany renounces all rights, titles and privileges conferred on her by the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German Agreements of February 9, 1909, and November 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by her with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from August 3, 1914.

In no case can Germany take advantage of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other Powers.

ARTICLE 142.

Germany having recognised the French Protectorate in Morocco, hereby accepts all the consequences of its establishment, and she renounces the régime of the capitulations therein.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 3, 1914.

ARTICLE 143.

The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they may establish themselves there.

German protected persons, semsars and " associés agricoles " shall be considered as having ceased, as from August 3, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subject to the ordinary law.

ARTICLE 144.

All property and possessions in the Sherifian Empire of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Maghzen without payment.

For this purpose the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in

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accordance with Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognised as belonging to German nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Moroccan Mining Regulations shall form the subject of a valuation, which the arbitrators shall be requested to make, and these rights shall then be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to German nationals.

ARTICLE 145.

The German Government shall ensure the transfer to a person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. The value of these shares, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, shall be paid to the Reparation Commission for the credit of Germany on account of the sums due for reparation. The German Government shall be responsible for indemnifying its nationals so dispossessed.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which German nationals may have contracted towards the State Bank of Morocco.

ARTICLE 146.

Moroccan goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods.

SECTION VI

EGYPT

ARTICLE 147.

Germany declares that she recognises the Protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914, and that she renounces the régime of the Capitulations in Egypt.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 148.

All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by Germany with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from August 4, 1914.

In no case can Germany avail herself of these instruments,

and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other Powers.

ARTICLE 149.

Until an Egyptian law of judicial organisation establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by His Highness the Sultan, for the exercise of jurisdiction over German nationals and property by the British Consular Tribunals.

ARTICLE 150.

The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

ARTICLE 151.

Germany consents to the abrogation of the decree issued by His Highness the Khedive on November 28, 1904, relating to the Commission of the Egyptian Public Debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Government may think it desirable to make therein.

ARTICLE 152.

Germany consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to His Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on His Imperial Majesty the Sultan by the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian Authorities of the powers of that Board.

ARTICLE 153.

All property and possessions in Egypt of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

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All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 154.

Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

SECTION VII TURKEY AND BULGARIA

ARTICLE 155.

Germany undertakes to recognise and accept all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, interests and privileges whatever which might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey and Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the provisions of the present Treaty.

SECTION VIII SHANTUNG

ARTICLE 156.

Germany renounces, in favour of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables—which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines, are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

ARTICLE 157.

The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiaochow, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

ARTICLE 158.

Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiaochow.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding Articles.

PART V**MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR CLAUSES**

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.

SECTION I**MILITARY CLAUSES****CHAPTER I****EFFECTIVES AND CADRES OF THE GERMAN ARMY****ARTICLE 159.**

The German military forces shall be demobilised and reduced as prescribed hereinafter.

ARTICLE 160.

(1) By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry.

After that date the total number of effectives in the Army of the States constituting Germany must not exceed one hundred thousand men, including officers and establishments of depots. The Army shall be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of order within the territory and to the control of the frontiers.

The total effective strength of officers, including the personnel of staffs, whatever their composition, must not exceed four thousand.

(2) Divisions and Army Corps headquarters staffs shall be organised in accordance with Table No. I annexed to this Section.

The number and strengths of the units of infantry, artillery, engineers, technical services and troops laid down in the aforesaid Table constitute maxima which must not be exceeded.

The following units may each have their own depot :

- An Infantry regiment ;
- A Cavalry regiment ;
- A regiment of Field Artillery ;
- A battalion of Pioneers.

(3) The divisions must not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs.

The maintenance or formation of forces differently grouped or of other organisations for the command of troops or for preparation for war is forbidden.

The Great German General Staff and all similar organisations shall be dissolved and may not be reconstituted in any form.

The officers, or persons in the position of officers, in the Ministries of War in the different States in Germany and in the Administrations attached to them, must not exceed three hundred in number and are included in the maximum strength of four thousand laid down in the third sub-paragraph of paragraph (1) of this Article.

ARTICLE 161.

Army administrative services consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives prescribed by the present Treaty will have such personnel reduced in each class to one-tenth of that laid down in the Budget of 1913.

ARTICLE 162.

The number of employees or officials of the German States, such as customs officers, forest guards and coastguards, shall not exceed that of the employees or officials functioning in these capacities in 1913.

The number of gendarmes and employees or officials of the local or municipal police may only be increased to an extent corresponding to the increase of population since 1913 in the districts or municipalities in which they are employed.

These employees and officials may not be assembled for military training.

ARTICLE 163.

The reduction of the strength of the German military forces as provided for in Article 160 may be effected gradually in the following manner :

Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the total number of effectives must be reduced to 200,000 and the number of units must not exceed twice the number of those laid down in Article 160.

At the expiration of this period, and at the end of each subsequent period of three months, a Conference of military experts of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers will fix the reductions to be made in the ensuing three months, so that by March 31, 1920, at the latest the total number of German effectives does not exceed the maximum number of 100,000 men laid down in Article 160. In these successive reductions the same ratio between the number of officers and of men, and between the various kinds of units, shall be maintained as is laid down in that Article.

**CHAPTER II
ARMAMENT, MUNITIONS AND MATERIAL****ARTICLE 164.**

Up till the time at which Germany is admitted as a member of the League of Nations the German Army must not possess an armament greater than the amounts fixed in Table No. II annexed to this Section, with the exception of an optional increase not exceeding one-twentyfifth part for small arms and

one-fiftieth part for guns, which shall be exclusively used to provide for such eventual replacements as may be necessary.

Germany agrees that after she has become a member of the League of Nations the armaments fixed in the said Table shall remain in force until they are modified by the Council of the League. Furthermore, she hereby agrees strictly to observe the decisions of the Council of the League on this subject.

ARTICLE 165.

The maximum number of guns, machine guns, trench-mortars, rifles and the amount of ammunition and equipment which Germany is allowed to maintain during the period between the coming into force of the present Treaty and the date of March 31, 1920, referred to in Article 160, shall bear the same proportion to the amount authorised in Table No. III annexed to this Section as the strength of the German Army as reduced from time to time in accordance with Article 163 bears to the strength permitted under Article 160.

ARTICLE 166.

At the date of March 31, 1920, the stock of munitions which the German Army may have at its disposal shall not exceed the amounts fixed in Table No. III annexed to this Section.

Within the same period the German Government will store these stocks at points to be notified to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government is forbidden to establish any other stocks, depots or reserves of munitions.

ARTICLE 167.

The number and calibre of the guns constituting at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty the armament of the fortified works, fortresses, and any land or coast forts which Germany is allowed to retain must be notified immediately by the German Government to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, and will constitute maximum amounts which may not be exceeded.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the maximum stock of ammunition for these guns will be reduced to, and maintained at, the following uniform rates :—fifteen hundred rounds per piece for those the calibre of which is 10·5 cm. and under; five hundred rounds per piece for those of higher calibre.

ARTICLE 168.

The manufacture of arms, munitions, or any war material, shall only be carried out in factories or works the location of which shall be communicated to and approved by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, and the number of which they retain the right to restrict.

Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, all other establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage or design of arms, munitions, or any war material whatever shall be closed down. The same applies to all arsenals except those used as depots for the authorised stocks of munitions. Within the same period the personnel of these arsenals will be dismissed.

ARTICLE 169.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty German arms, munitions and war material, including anti-aircraft material, existing in Germany in excess of the quantities allowed, must be surrendered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to be destroyed or rendered useless. This will also apply to any special plant intended for the manufacture of military material, except such as may be recognised as necessary for equipping the authorised strength of the German Army.

The surrender in question will be effected at such points in German territory as may be selected by the said Governments.

Within the same period arms, munitions and war material, including anti-aircraft material, of origin other than German, in whatever state they may be, will be delivered to the said Governments, who will decide as to their disposal.

Arms and munitions, which on account of the successive reductions in the strength of the German army become in excess of the amounts authorised by Tables II and III annexed to this Section, must be handed over in the manner laid down above within such periods as may be decided by the Conferences referred to in Article 163.

ARTICLE 170.

Importation into Germany of arms, munitions and war material of every kind shall be strictly prohibited.

The same applies to the manufacture for, and export to,

foreign countries of arms, munitions and war material of every kind.

ARTICLE 171.

The use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices being prohibited, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Germany.

The same applies to materials specially intended for the manufacture, storage and use of the said products or devices.

The manufacture and the importation into Germany of armoured cars, tanks and all similar constructions suitable for use in war are also prohibited.

ARTICLE 172.

Within a period of three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the German Government will disclose to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers the nature and mode of manufacture of all explosives, toxic substances or other like chemical preparations used by them in the war or prepared by them for the purpose of being so used.

CHAPTER III

RECRUITING AND MILITARY TRAINING

ARTICLE 173.

Universal compulsory military service shall be abolished in Germany.

The German Army may only be constituted and recruited by means of voluntary enlistment.

ARTICLE 174.

The period of enlistment for non-commissioned officers and privates must be twelve consecutive years.

The number of men discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of enlistment must not exceed in any year five per cent. of the total effectives fixed by the second sub-paragraph of paragraph (1) of Article 160 of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 175.

The officers who are retained in the Army must undertake the obligation to serve in it up to the age of forty-five years at least.

Officers newly appointed must undertake to serve on the active list for twenty-five consecutive years at least.

Officers who have previously belonged to any formations whatever of the Army, and who are not retained in the units allowed to be maintained, must not take part in any military exercise whether theoretical or practical, and will not be under any military obligations whatever.

The number of officers discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed in any year five per cent. of the total effectives of officers provided for in the third sub-paragraph of paragraph (1) of Article 160 of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 176.

On the expiration of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty there must only exist in Germany the number of military schools which is absolutely indispensable for the recruitment of the officers of the units allowed. These schools will be exclusively intended for the recruitment of officers of each arm, in the proportion of one school per arm.

The number of students admitted to attend the courses of the said schools will be strictly in proportion to the vacancies to be filled in the cadres of officers. The students and the cadres will be reckoned in the effectives fixed by the second and third sub-paragraphs of paragraph (1) of Article 160 of the present Treaty.

Consequently, and during the period fixed above, all military academies or similar institutions in Germany, as well as the different military schools for officers, student officers (*Aspiranten*), cadets, non-commissioned officers or student non-commissioned officers (*Aspiranten*), other than the schools above provided for, will be abolished.

ARTICLE 177.

Educational establishments, the universities, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs and, generally speaking, associations of every description, whatever be the

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age of their members, must not occupy themselves with any military matters.

In particular they will be forbidden to instruct or exercise their members, or to allow them to be instructed or exercised, in the profession or use of arms.

These societies, associations, educational establishments and universities must have no connection with the Ministries of War or any other military authority.

ARTICLE 178.

All measures of mobilisation or appertaining to mobilisation are forbidden.

In no case must formations, administrative services or General Staffs include supplementary cadres.

ARTICLE 179.

Germany agrees, from the coming into force of the present Treaty, not to accredit nor to send to any foreign country any military, naval or air mission, nor to allow any such mission to leave her territory, and Germany further agrees to take appropriate measures to prevent German nationals from leaving her territory to become enrolled in the Army, Navy or Air Service of any foreign Power, or to be attached to such Army, Navy or Air Service for the purpose of assisting in the military, naval or air training thereof, or otherwise for the purpose of giving military, naval or air instruction in any foreign country.

The Allied and Associated Powers agree, so far as they are concerned, from the coming into force of the present Treaty, not to enrol in nor to attach to their armies or naval or air forces any German national for the purpose of assisting in the military training of such armies, or naval or air forces, or otherwise to employ any such German national as military, naval or aeronautic instructor.

The present provision does not, however, affect the right of France to recruit for the Foreign Legion in accordance with French military laws and regulations.

CHAPTER IV

FORTIFICATIONS

ARTICLE 180.

All fortified works, fortresses and field works situated in German territory to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometres to the east of the Rhine shall be disarmed and dismantled.

Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty such of the above fortified works, fortresses and field works as are situated in territory not occupied by Allied and Associated troops shall be disarmed, and within a further period of four months they shall be dismantled. Those which are situated in territory occupied by Allied and Associated troops shall be disarmed and dismantled within such periods as may be fixed by the Allied High Command.

The construction of any new fortification, whatever its nature and importance, is forbidden in the zone referred to in the first paragraph above.

The system of fortified works of the southern and eastern frontiers of Germany shall be maintained in its existing state.

TABLE No. I

STATE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS AND OF INFANTRY AND CAVALRY DIVISIONS.

These tabular statements do not form a fixed establishment to be imposed on Germany, but the figures contained in them (number of units and strengths) represent maximum figures, which should not in any case be exceeded.

I.—ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS

<i>Unit.</i>	<i>Maximum Number Authorised.</i>	<i>Maximum Strengths of each Unit.</i>	
		<i>Officers.</i>	<i>N.C.O.'s and Men</i>
Army Corps Headquarters Staff	2	30	150
TOTAL for Headquarters Staffs .. . . . .	.....	60	300

II.—ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFANTRY DIVISION

<i>Unit.</i>	<i>Maximum No. of such Units in a Single Division.</i>	<i>Maximum Strengths of each Unit.</i>	
		<i>Officers.</i>	<i>N.C.O.'s and Men.</i>
Headquarters of an infantry division.	1	25	70
Headquarters of divisional infantry ..	1	4	30
Headquarters of divisional artillery ..	1	4	30
Regiment of infantry.....	3	70	2,300
(Each regiment comprises 3 battalions of infantry. Each battalion comprises 3 companies of infantry and 1 machine gun company.)			
Trench mortar company.....	3	6	150
Divisional squadron.....	1	6	150
Field artillery regiment.....	1	85	1,300
(Each regiment comprises 3 groups of artillery. Each group comprises 3 batteries.)			
Pioneer battalion	1	12	400
(This battalion comprises 2 companies of pioneers, 1 pontoon detachment, 1 searchlight section.)			
Signal detachment.....	1	12	300
(This detachment comprises 1 telephone detachment, 1 listening section, 1 carrier pigeon section.)			
Divisional medical service	1	20	400
Parks and convoys.....	.....	14	800
TOTAL for infantry division .....	.....	410	10,830

III.—ESTABLISHMENT OF A CAVALRY DIVISION

<i>Unit.</i>	<i>Maximum No. of such Units in a Single Division.</i>	<i>Maximum Strengths of each Unit.</i>	
		<i>Officers.</i>	<i>N.C.O.'s and Men.</i>
Headquarters of a cavalry division...	1	15	50
Cavalry regiment	6	40	800
(Each regiment comprises 4 squadrons.)			
Horse artillery group (3 batteries)...	1	20	400
TOTAL for cavalry division.....	.....	275	5,250

TABLE No. II

TABULAR STATEMENT OF ARMAMENT ESTABLISHMENT FOR
A MAXIMUM OF 7 INFANTRY DIVISIONS, 3 CAVALRY
DIVISIONS, AND 2 ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS

<i>Material.</i>	<i>Infan-</i> <i>try Divi-</i> <i>sion.</i>	<i>For</i> <i>7 Infan-</i> <i>try Divi-</i> <i>sions.</i>	<i>Cav-</i> <i>alry</i> <i>Divi-</i> <i>sion.</i>	<i>For</i> <i>3 Cav-</i> <i>alry</i> <i>Divi-</i> <i>sions.</i>	<i>2 Army Corps</i> <i>Headquarters</i> <i>Staffs.</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>of</i> <i>Columns</i> <i>2, 4</i> <i>and 5.</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rifles.....	12,000	84,000	.....	.....	This establish- ment must be drawn from the increased armaments of the divisional infantry.	84,000
Carbines .....	.....	.....	6,000	18,000		18,000
Heavy machine guns.....	108	756	12	36		792
Light machine guns.....	162	1,134	.....	.....		1,134
Medium trench mortars ...	9	63	.....	.....		63
Light trench mortars....	27	189	.....	.....		189
7·7 cm. guns.	24	168	12	36		204
10·5 cm. howitzers	12	84	.....	.....		84

TABLE No. III

MAXIMUM STOCKS AUTHORISED

<i>Material.</i>	<i>Maximum</i> <i>Number</i> <i>of Arms</i> <i>authorised.</i>	<i>Establish-</i> <i>ment</i> <i>per Unit.</i>	<i>Maximum</i> <i>Totals.</i>
		Rounds.	Rounds.
Rifles	84,000		
Carbines.....	18,000	400	40,800,000
Heavy machine guns	792		
Light machine guns	1,134	8,000	15,408,000
Medium trench mortars	63	400	25,200
Light trench mortars.....	189	800	151,200
Field artillery			
7·7 cm. guns	204	1,000	204,000
10·5 cm. howitzers	84	800	67,200

SECTION II

NAVAL CLAUSES

ARTICLE 181.

After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the German naval forces in commission must not exceed :

6 battleships of the *Deutschland* or *Lothringen* type,
6 light cruisers,
12 destroyers,
12 torpedo boats,

or an equal number of ships constructed to replace them as provided in Article 190.

No submarines are to be included.

All other warships, except where there is provision to the contrary in the present Treaty, must be placed in reserve or devoted to commercial purposes.

ARTICLE 182.

Until the completion of the minesweeping prescribed by Article 193 Germany will keep in commission such number of minesweeping vessels as may be fixed by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 183.

After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the total personnel of the German Navy, including the manning of the fleet, coast defences, signal stations, administration and other land services, must not exceed fifteen thousand, including officers and men of all grades and corps.

The total strength of officers and warrant officers must not exceed fifteen hundred.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the personnel in excess of the above strength shall be demobilised.

No naval or military corps or reserve force in connection with the Navy may be organised in Germany without being included in the above strength.

ARTICLE 184.

From the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all the German surface warships which are not in German ports cease to belong to Germany, who renounces all rights over them.

Vessels which, in compliance with the Armistice of November 11, 1918, are now interned in the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers are declared to be finally surrendered.

Vessels which are now interned in neutral ports will be there surrendered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government must address a notification to that effect to the neutral Powers on the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 185.

Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the German surface warships enumerated below will be surrendered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in such Allied ports as the said Powers may direct.

These warships will have been disarmed as provided in Article XXIII of the Armistice of November 11, 1918. Nevertheless they must have all their guns on board.

BATTLESHPIS.

<i>Oldenburg.</i>	<i>Posen.</i>
<i>Thuringen.</i>	<i>Westfalen.</i>
<i>Ostfriesland.</i>	<i>Rheinland.</i>
<i>Helgoland.</i>	<i>Nassau.</i>

LIGHT CRUISERS.

<i>Stettin.</i>	<i>Stralsund.</i>
<i>Danzig.</i>	<i>Augsburg.</i>
<i>München.</i>	<i>Kolberg.</i>
<i>Lübeck.</i>	<i>Stuttgart.</i>

And, in addition, forty-two modern destroyers and fifty modern torpedo boats, as chosen by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 186.

On the coming into force of the present Treaty the German Government must undertake, under the supervision of the

Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the breaking-up of all the German surface warships now under construction.

ARTICLE 187.

The German auxiliary cruisers and fleet auxiliaries enumerated below will be disarmed and treated as merchant ships.

INTERRED IN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES :

<i>Berlin.</i>	<i>Seydlitz.</i>
<i>Santa Fé.</i>	<i>Yorck.</i>

IN GERMANY :

<i>Ammon.</i>	<i>Fürst Bülow.</i>
<i>Answald.</i>	<i>Gertrud.</i>
<i>Bosnia.</i>	<i>Kigoma.</i>
<i>Cordoba.</i>	<i>Rugia.</i>
<i>Cassel.</i>	<i>Santa Elena.</i>
<i>Dania.</i>	<i>Schleswig.</i>
<i>Rio Negro.</i>	<i>Möwe.</i>
<i>Rio Pardo.</i>	<i>Sierra Ventana.</i>
<i>Santa Cruz.</i>	<i>Chemnitz.</i>
<i>Schwaben.</i>	<i>Emil Georg von Strauss.</i>
<i>Solingen.</i>	<i>Habsburg.</i>
<i>Steigerwald.</i>	<i>Meteor.</i>
<i>Franken.</i>	<i>Waltraute.</i>
<i>Gundomar.</i>	<i>Scharnhorst.</i>

ARTICLE 188.

On the expiration of one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty all German submarines, submarine salvage vessels and docks for submarines, including the tubular dock, must have been handed over to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Such of these submarines, vessels and docks as are considered by the said Governments to be fit to proceed under their own power or to be towed shall be taken by the German Government into such Allied ports as have been indicated.

The remainder, and also those in course of construction, shall be broken up entirely by the German Government under the supervision of the said Governments. The breaking-up

must be completed within three months at the most after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 189.

Articles, machinery and material arising from the breaking-up of German warships of all kinds, whether surface vessels or submarines, may not be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes.

They may not be sold or disposed of to foreign countries.

ARTICLE 190.

Germany is forbidden to construct or acquire any warships other than those intended to replace the units in commission provided for in Article 181 of the present Treaty.

The warships intended for replacement purposes as above shall not exceed the following displacement :

Armoured ships	10,000 tons,
Light cruisers	6,000 tons,
Destroyers	800 tons,
Torpedo boats	200 tons.

Except where a ship has been lost, units of the different classes shall only be replaced at the end of a period of twenty years in the case of battleships and cruisers, and fifteen years in the case of destroyers and torpedo boats, counting from the launching of the ship.

ARTICLE 191.

The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Germany.

ARTICLE 192.

The warships in commission of the German fleet must have on board or in reserve only the allowance of arms, munitions and war material fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Within a month from the fixing of the quantities as above, arms, munitions and war material of all kinds, including mines and torpedoes, now in the hands of the German Government and in excess of the said quantities, shall be surrendered to the Governments of the said Powers at places to be indicated by them. Such arms, munitions and war material will be destroyed or rendered useless.

All other stocks, depots or reserves of arms, munitions or naval war material of all kinds are forbidden.

The manufacture of these articles in German territory for, and their export to, foreign countries shall be forbidden.

ARTICLE 193.

On the coming into force of the present Treaty Germany will forthwith sweep up the mines in the following areas in the North Sea to the eastward of longitude 4° 00' E. of Greenwich :

- (1) Between parallels of latitude 53° 00' N. and 59° 00' N. ;
- (2) To the northward of latitude 60° 30' N.

Germany must keep these areas free from mines.

Germany must also sweep and keep free from mines such areas in the Baltic as may ultimately be notified by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 194.

The personnel of the German Navy shall be recruited entirely by voluntary engagements entered into for a minimum period of twenty-five consecutive years for officers and warrant officers ; twelve consecutive years for petty officers and men.

The number engaged to replace those discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed five per cent. per annum of the totals laid down in this Section (Article 183).

The personnel discharged from the Navy must not receive any kind of naval or military training or undertake any further service in the Navy or Army.

Officers belonging to the Germany Navy and not demobilised must engage to serve till the age of forty-five, unless discharged for sufficient reasons.

No officer or man of the German mercantile marine shall receive any training in the Navy.

ARTICLE 195.

In order to ensure free passage into the Baltic to all nations, Germany shall not erect any fortifications in the area comprised between latitudes 55° 27' N. and 54° 00' N. and longitudes 9° 00' E. and 16° 00' E. of the meridian of Greenwich, nor install any guns commanding the maritime routes between the North Sea and the Baltic. The fortifications now existing in this area shall be demolished and the guns removed under the

supervision of the Allied Governments and in periods to be fixed by them.

The German Government shall place at the disposal of the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all hydrographical information now in its possession concerning the channels and adjoining waters between the Baltic and the North Sea.

ARTICLE 196.

All fortified works and fortifications, other than those mentioned in Section XIII (Heligoland) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe) and in Article 195, now established within fifty kilometres of the German coast or on German islands off that coast shall be considered as of a defensive nature and may remain in their existing condition.

No new fortifications shall be constructed within these limits. The armament of these defences shall not exceed, as regards the number and calibre of guns, those in position at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty. The German Government shall communicate forthwith particulars thereof to all the European Governments.

On the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the stocks of ammunition for these guns shall be reduced to and maintained at a maximum figure of fifteen hundred rounds per piece for calibres of 4·1 inch and under, and five hundred rounds per piece for higher calibres.

ARTICLE 197.

During the three months following the coming into force of the present Treaty the German high-power wireless telegraphy stations at Nauen, Hanover and Berlin shall not be used for the transmission of messages concerning naval, military or political questions of interest to Germany or any State which has been allied to Germany in the war, without the assent of the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. These stations may be used for commercial purposes, but only under the supervision of the said Governments, who will decide the wave-length to be used.

During the same period Germany shall not build any more high-power wireless telegraphy stations in her own territory or that of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey.

SECTION III

AIR CLAUSES

ARTICLE 198.

The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces.

Germany may, during a period not extending beyond October 1, 1919, maintain a maximum number of one hundred seaplanes or flying boats, which shall be exclusively employed in searching for submarine mines, shall be furnished with the necessary equipment for this purpose, and shall in no case carry arms, munitions or bombs of any nature whatever.

In addition to the engines installed in the seaplanes or flying boats above mentioned, one spare engine may be provided for each engine of each of these craft.

No dirigible shall be kept.

ARTICLE 199.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the personnel of the air forces on the rolls of the German land and sea forces shall be demobilised. Up to October 1, 1919, however, Germany may keep and maintain a total number of one thousand men, including officers, for the whole of the cadres and personnel, flying and non-flying, of all formations and establishments.

ARTICLE 200.

Until the complete evacuation of German territory by the Allied and Associated troops, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany freedom of passage through the air, freedom of transit and of landing.

ARTICLE 201.

During the six months following the coming into force of the present Treaty, the manufacture and importation of aircraft, parts of aircraft, engines for aircraft, and parts of engines for aircraft, shall be forbidden in all German territory.

ARTICLE 202.

On the coming into force of the present Treaty, all military and naval aeronautical material, except the machines mentioned in the second and third paragraphs of Article 198, must be

delivered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Delivery must be effected at such places as the said Governments may select, and must be completed within three months.

In particular, this material will include all items under the following heads which are or have been in use or were designed for warlike purposes :

Complete aeroplanes and seaplanes, as well as those being manufactured, repaired or assembled.

Dirigibles able to take the air, being manufactured, repaired or assembled.

Plant for the manufacture of hydrogen.

Dirigible sheds and shelters of every kind for aircraft.

Pending their delivery, dirigibles will, at the expense of Germany, be maintained inflated with hydrogen ; the plant for the manufacture of hydrogen, as well as the sheds for dirigibles, may, at the discretion of the said Powers, be left to Germany until the time when the dirigibles are handed over.

Engines for aircraft.

Nacelles and fuselages.

Armament (guns, machine guns, light machine guns, bomb-dropping apparatus, torpedo-dropping apparatus, synchronisation apparatus, aiming apparatus).

Munitions (cartridges, shells, bombs loaded or unloaded, stocks of explosives or material for their manufacture).

Instruments for use on aircraft.

Wireless apparatus and photographic or cinematograph apparatus for use on aircraft.

Component parts of any of the items under the preceding heads.

The material referred to above shall not be removed without special permission from the said Governments.

SECTION IV

INTER-ALLIED COMMISSIONS OF CONTROL

ARTICLE 203.

All the military, naval and air clauses contained in the present Treaty, for the execution of which a time-limit is prescribed, shall be executed by Germany under the control

of Inter-Allied Commissions specially appointed for this purpose by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 204.

The Inter-Allied Commissions of Control will be specially charged with the duty of seeing to the complete execution of the delivery, destruction, demolition and rendering things useless to be carried out at the expense of the German Government in accordance with the present Treaty.

They will communicate to the German authorities the decisions which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers have reserved the right to take, or which the execution of the military, naval and air clauses may necessitate.

ARTICLE 205.

The Inter-Allied Commissions of Control may establish their organisations at the seat of the central German Government.

They shall be entitled as often as they think desirable to proceed to any point whatever in German territory, or to send sub-commissions, or to authorise one or more of their members to go, to any such point.

ARTICLE 206.

The German Government must give all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of their missions to the Inter-Allied Commissions of Control and to their members.

It shall attach a qualified representative to each Inter-Allied Commission of Control for the purpose of receiving the communications which the Commission may have to address to the German Government and of supplying or procuring for the Commission all information or documents which may be required.

The German Government must in all cases furnish at its own cost all labour and material required to effect the deliveries and the works of destruction, dismantling, demolition, and of rendering things useless, provided for in the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 207.

The upkeep and cost of the Commissions of Control and the expenses involved by their work shall be borne by Germany.

ARTICLE 208.

The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the military clauses.

In particular it will be its duty to receive from the German Government the notifications relating to the location of the stocks and depots of munitions, the armament of the fortified works, fortresses and forts which Germany is allowed to retain, and the location of the works or factories for the production of arms, munitions and war material and their operations.

It will take delivery of the arms, munitions and war material, will select the points where such delivery is to be effected, and will supervise the works of destruction, demolition, and of rendering things useless, which are to be carried out in accordance with the present Treaty.

The German Government must furnish to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the latter may deem necessary to ensure the complete execution of the military clauses, and in particular all legislative and administrative documents and regulations.

ARTICLE 209.

The Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the naval clauses.

In particular it will be its duty to proceed to the building yards and to supervise the breaking-up of the ships which are under construction there, to take delivery of all surface ships or submarines, salvage ships, docks and the tubular dock, and to supervise the destruction and breaking-up provided for.

The German Government must furnish to the Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the Commission may deem necessary to ensure the complete execution of the naval clauses, in particular the designs of the warships, the composition of their armaments, the details and models of the guns, munitions, torpedoes, mines, explosives, wireless telegraphic apparatus and, in general, everything relating to naval war material, as well as all legislative or administrative documents or regulations.

ARTICLE 210.

The Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the air clauses.

In particular it will be its duty to make an inventory of the aeronautical material existing in German territory, to inspect aeroplane, balloon and motor manufactories, and factories producing arms, munitions and explosives capable of being used by aircraft, to visit all aerodromes, sheds, landing grounds, parks and depots, to authorise, where necessary, a removal of material and to take delivery of such material.

The German Government must furnish to the Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and legislative, administrative or other documents which the Commission may consider necessary to ensure the complete execution of the air clauses, and in particular a list of the personnel belonging to all the German Air Services, and of the existing material, as well as of that in process of manufacture or on order, and a list of all establishments working for aviation, of their positions, and of all sheds and landing grounds.

**SECTION V
GENERAL ARTICLES****ARTICLE 211.**

After the expiration of a period of three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the German laws must have been modified and shall be maintained by the German Government in conformity with this Part of the present Treaty.

Within the same period all the administrative or other measures relating to the execution of this Part of the Treaty must have been taken.

ARTICLE 212.

The following portions of the Armistice of November 11, 1918 : Article VI, the first two and the sixth and seventh paragraphs of Article VII ; Article IX : Clauses I, II and V of Annex No. 2, and the Protocol, dated April 4, 1919, supplementing the Armistice of November 11, 1918, remain in force so far as they are not inconsistent with the above stipulations.

ARTICLE 213.

So long as the present Treaty remains in force, Germany undertakes to give every facility for any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary.

PART VI**PRISONERS OF WAR AND GRAVES****SECTION I****PRISONERS OF WAR****ARTICLE 214.**

The repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians shall take place as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty and shall be carried out with the greatest rapidity.

ARTICLE 215.

The repatriation of German prisoners of war and interned civilians shall, in accordance with Article 214, be carried out by a Commission composed of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part and of the German Government on the other part.

For each of the Allied and Associated Powers a Sub-Commission, composed exclusively of Representatives of the interested Power and of Delegates of the German Government, shall regulate the details of carrying into effect the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

ARTICLE 216.

From the time of their delivery into the hands of the German authorities the prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be returned without delay to their homes by the said authorities.

Those amongst them who before the war were habitually resident in territory occupied by the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers are likewise to be sent to their homes, subject to the consent and control of the military authorities of the Allied and Associated armies of occupation.

ARTICLE 217.

The whole cost of repatriation from the moment of starting shall be borne by the German Government, who shall also provide the land and sea transport and staff considered necessary by the Commission referred to in Article 215.

ARTICLE 218.

Prisoners of war and interned civilians awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offences against discipline shall be repatriated irrespective of the completion of their sentence or of the proceedings pending against them.

This stipulation shall not apply to prisoners of war and interned civilians punished for offences committed subsequent to May 1, 1919.

During the period pending their repatriation all prisoners of war and interned civilians shall remain subject to the existing regulations, more especially as regards work and discipline.

ARTICLE 219.

Prisoners of war and interned civilians who are awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offences other than those against discipline may be detained.

ARTICLE 220.

The German Government undertakes to admit to its territory without distinction all persons liable to repatriation.

Prisoners of war or other German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated may be excluded from repatriation; but the Allied and Associated Governments reserve to themselves the right either to repatriate them or to take them to a neutral country or to allow them to reside in their own territories.

The German Government undertakes not to institute any exceptional proceedings against these persons or their families nor to take any repressive or vexatious measures of any kind whatsoever against them on this account.

ARTICLE 221.

The Allied and Associated Governments reserve the right to make the repatriation of German prisoners of war or German nationals in their hands conditional upon the immediate notification and release by the German Government of any

prisoners of war who are nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and may still be in Germany.

ARTICLE 222.

Germany undertakes :

(1) To give every facility to Commissions to enquire into the cases of those who cannot be traced ; to furnish such Commissions with all necessary means of transport ; to allow them access to camps, prisons, hospitals and all other places ; and to place at their disposal all documents, whether public or private, which would facilitate their enquiries ;

(2) To impose penalties upon any German officials or private persons who have concealed the presence of any nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers or have neglected to reveal the presence of any such after it had come to their knowledge.

ARTICLE 223.

Germany undertakes to restore without delay from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all articles, money, securities and documents which have belonged to nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and which have been retained by the German authorities.

ARTICLE 224.

The High Contracting Parties waive reciprocally all repayment of sums due for the maintenance of prisoners of war in their respective territories.

SECTION II

GRAVES

ARTICLE 225.

The Allied and Associated Governments and the German Government will cause to be respected and maintained the graves of the soldiers and sailors buried in their respective territories.

They agree to recognise any Commission appointed by an Allied or Associated Government for the purpose of identifying, registering, caring for or erecting suitable memorials over the said graves and to facilitate the discharge of its duties.

Furthermore they agree to afford, so far as the provisions of

their laws and the requirements of public health allow, every facility for giving effect to requests that the bodies of their soldiers and sailors may be transferred to their own country.

ARTICLE 226.

The graves of prisoners of war and interned civilians who are nationals of the different belligerent States and have died in captivity shall be properly maintained in accordance with Article 225 of the present Treaty.

The Allied and Associated Governments on the one part and the German Government on the other part reciprocally undertake also to furnish to each other :

(1) A complete list of those who have died together with all information useful for identification ;

(2) All information as to the number and position of the graves of all those who have been buried without identification.

PART VII

PENALTIES

ARTICLE 227.

The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defence. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following Powers : namely, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

In its decision the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy, with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

The Allied and Associated Powers will address a request to the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial.

ARTICLE 228.

The German Government recognises the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by law. This provision will apply notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Germany or in the territory of her allies.

The German Government shall hand over to the Allied and Associated Powers, or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by the rank, office or employment which they held under the German authorities.

ARTICLE 229.

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before the military tribunals of that Power.

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before military tribunals composed of members of the military tribunals of the Powers concerned.

In every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

ARTICLE 230.

The German Government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to ensure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of offenders and the just appreciation of responsibility.

PART VIII
REPARATION
SECTION I
GENERAL PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 231.

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

ARTICLE 232.

The Allied and Associated Governments recognise that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present Treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land, by sea and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annex I hereto.

In accordance with Germany's pledges, already given, as to complete restoration for Belgium, Germany undertakes, in addition to the compensation for damage elsewhere in this Part provided for, as a consequence of the violation of the Treaty of 1839, to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at the rate of five per cent. (5 %) per annum on such sums. This amount shall be determined by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government undertakes thereupon forthwith to make a special issue of bearer bonds to an equivalent amount payable in marks gold, on May 1, 1926, or, at the option of the

German Government, on May 1 in any year up to 1926. Subject to the foregoing, the form of such bonds shall be determined by the Reparation Commission. Such bonds shall be handed over to the Reparation Commission, which has authority to take and acknowledge receipt thereof on behalf of Belgium.

ARTICLE 233.

The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an Inter-Allied Commission, to be called the *Reparation Commission* and constituted in the form and with the powers set forth hereunder and in Annexes II to VII inclusive hereto.

This Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The findings of the Commission as to the amount of damage defined as above shall be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before May 1, 1921, as representing the extent of that Government's obligations.

The Commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligation within a period of thirty years from May 1, 1921. If, however, within the period mentioned, Germany fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the Commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments, acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this Part of the present Treaty, shall determine.!

ARTICLE 234.

The Reparation Commission shall after May 1, 1921, from time to time, consider the resources and capacity of Germany, and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date, and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 233; but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the Commission.

ARTICLE 235.

In order to enable the Allied and Associated Powers to proceed at once to the restoration of their industrial and

economic life, pending the full determination of their claims, Germany shall pay in such instalments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may fix, during 1919, 1920 and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks. Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the Armistice of November 11, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of the said Governments, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned towards liquidation of the amounts due for reparation. Germany shall further deposit bonds as prescribed in paragraph 12 (c) of Annex II hereto.

ARTICLE 236.

Germany further agrees to the direct application of her economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes III, IV, V and VI, relating respectively to merchant shipping, to physical restoration, to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dyestuffs and other chemical products ; provided always that the value of the property transferred and any services rendered by her under these Annexes, assessed in the manner therein prescribed, shall be credited to her towards liquidation of her obligations under the above Articles.

ARTICLE 237.

The successive instalments, including the above sum, paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the above claims will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each.

For the purposes of this division the value of property transferred and services rendered under Article 243, and under Annexes III, IV, V, VI and VII, shall be reckoned in the same manner as cash payments effected in that year.

ARTICLE 238.

In addition to the payments mentioned above Germany shall effect, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Reparation Commission, restitution in cash of cash taken

away, seized or sequestrated, and also restitution of animals, objects of every nature and securities taken away, seized or sequestrated, in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany or her allies.

Until this procedure is laid down, restitution will continue in accordance with the provisions of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and its renewals and the Protocols thereto.

ARTICLE 239.

The German Government undertakes to make forthwith the restitution contemplated by Article 238 and to make the payments and deliveries contemplated by Articles 233, 234, 235 and 236.

ARTICLE 240.

The German Government recognises the Commission provided for by Article 233 as the same may be constituted by the Allied and Associated Governments in accordance with Annex II, and agrees irrevocably to the possession and exercise by such Commission of the power and authority given to it under the present Treaty.

The German Government will supply to the Commission all the information which the Commission may require relative to the financial situation and operations and to the property, productive capacity, and stocks and current production of raw materials and manufactured articles of Germany and her nationals, and further any information relative to military operations which in the judgment of the Commission may be necessary for the assessment of Germany's liability for reparation as defined in Annex I.

The German Government will accord to the members of the Commission and its authorised agents the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Germany by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly Powers.

Germany further agrees to provide for the salaries and expenses of the Commission and of such staff as it may employ.

ARTICLE 241.

Germany undertakes to pass, issue and maintain in force any legislation, orders and decrees that may be necessary to give complete effect to these provisions.

ARTICLE 242.

The provisions of this Part of the present Treaty do not apply to the property, rights and interests referred to in Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, nor to the product of their liquidation, except so far as concerns any final balance in favour of Germany under Article 243 (a).

ARTICLE 243.

The following shall be reckoned as credits to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations :—

(a) Any final balance in favour of Germany under Section V (Alsace-Lorraine) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe) and Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty;

(b) Amounts due to Germany in respect of transfers under Section IV (Saar Basin) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe), Part IX (Financial Clauses), and Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways);

(c) Amounts which in the judgment of the Reparation Commission should be credited to Germany on account of any other transfers under the present Treaty of property, rights, concessions or other interests.

In no case however shall credit be given for property restored in accordance with Article 238 of the present Part.

ARTICLE 244.

The transfer of the German submarine cables which do not form the subject of particular provisions of the present Treaty is regulated by Annex VII hereto.

Annex I

Compensation may be claimed from Germany under Article 232 above in respect of the total damage under the following categories :

(1) Damage to injured persons and to surviving dependents by personal injury to or death of civilians caused by acts of war, including bombardments or other attacks on land, on sea, or from the air, and all the direct consequences thereof, and of all operations of war by the two groups of belligerents wherever arising.

(2) Damage caused by Germany or her allies to civilian victims of acts of cruelty, violence or maltreatment (including injuries to life or health as a consequence of imprisonment), deportation, internment or evacuation, of exposure at sea or of being forced to labour, wherever arising, and to the surviving dependents of such victims.

(3) Damage caused by Germany or her allies in their own territory or in occupied or invaded territory to civilian victims of all acts injurious to health or capacity to work, or to honour, as well as to the surviving dependents of such victims.

(4) Damage caused by any kind of maltreatment of prisoners of war.

(5) As damage caused to the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers, all pensions and compensation in the nature of pensions to naval and military victims of war (including members of the air force), whether mutilated, wounded, sick or invalidated, and to the dependents of such victims, the amount due to the Allied and Associated Governments being calculated for each of them as being the capitalised cost of such pensions and compensation at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, on the basis of the scales in force in France at such date.

(6) The cost of assistance by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to prisoners of war and to their families and dependents.

(7) Allowances by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to the families and dependents of mobilised persons or persons serving with the forces, the amount due to them for each calendar year in which hostilities occurred being calculated for each Government on the basis of the average scale for such payments in force in France during that year.

(8) Damage caused to civilians by being forced by Germany or her allies to labour without just remuneration.

(9) Damage in respect of all property wherever situated belonging to any of the Allied or Associated States or their nationals, with the exception of naval and military works or materials, which has been carried off, seized, injured or destroyed by the acts of Germany or her allies on land, on sea or from the air, or damage directly in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war.

(10) Damage in the form of levies, fines and other similar exactions imposed by Germany or her allies upon the civilian population.

Annex II

1.

The Commission referred to in Article 233 shall be called "The Reparation Commission" and is hereinafter referred to as "the Commission."

2.

Delegates to this Commission shall be nominated by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Each of these Powers will appoint one Delegate and also one Assistant Delegate, who will take his place in case of illness or necessary absence, but at other times will only have the right to be present at proceedings without taking any part therein.

On no occasion shall the Delegates of more than five of the above Powers have the right to take part in the proceedings of the Com-

mission and to record their votes. The Delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy shall have this right on all occasions. The Delegate of Belgium shall have this right on all occasions other than those referred to below. The Delegate of Japan shall have this right on occasions when questions relating to damage at sea, and questions arising under Article 260 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) in which Japanese interests are concerned, are under consideration. The Delegate of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall have this right when questions relating to Austria, Hungary or Bulgaria are under consideration.

Each Government represented on the Commission shall have the right to withdraw therefrom upon twelve months' notice filed with the Commission and confirmed in the course of the sixth month after the date of the original notice.

3.

Such of the other Allied and Associated Powers as may be interested shall have the right to appoint a Delegate to be present and act as Assessor only while their respective claims and interests are under examination or discussion, but without the right to vote.

4.

In case of the death, resignation or recall of any Delegate, Assistant Delegate, or Assessor, a successor to him shall be nominated as soon as possible.

5.

The Commission will have its principal permanent Bureau in Paris and will hold its first meeting in Paris as soon as practicable after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and thereafter will meet in such place or places and at such time as it may deem convenient and as may be necessary for the most expeditious discharge of its duties.

6.

At its first meeting the Commission shall elect, from among the Delegates referred to above, a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, who shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. If a vacancy in the Chairmanship or Vice-Chairmanship should occur during the annual period, the Commission shall proceed to a new election for the remainder of the said period.

7.

The Commission is authorised to appoint all necessary officers, agents and employees who may be required for the execution of its functions, and to fix their remuneration; to constitute committees, whose members need not necessarily be members of the Commission, and to take all executive steps necessary for the purpose of discharging its duties; and to delegate authority and discretion to officers, agents and committees.

8.

All proceedings of the Commission shall be private, unless, on particular occasions, the Commission shall otherwise determine for special reasons.

9.

The Commission shall be required, if the German Government so desire, to hear, within a period which it will fix from time to time, evidence and arguments on the part of Germany on any question connected with her capacity to pay.

10.

The Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard, but not to take any part whatever in the decisions of the Commission. The Commission shall afford a similar opportunity to the allies of Germany, when it shall consider that their interests are in question.

11.

The Commission shall not be bound by any particular code or rules of law or by any particular rule of evidence or of procedure, but shall be guided by justice, equity and good faith. Its decisions must follow the same principles and rules in all cases where they are applicable. It will establish rules relating to methods of proof of claims. It may act on any trustworthy modes of computation.

12.

The Commission shall have all the powers conferred upon it, and shall exercise all the functions assigned to it, by the present Treaty.

The Commission shall in general have wide latitude as to its control and handling of the whole reparation problem as dealt with in this Part of the present Treaty and shall have authority to interpret its provisions. Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, the Commission is constituted by the several Allied and Associated Governments referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 above as the exclusive agency of the said Governments respectively for receiving, selling, holding, and distributing the reparation payments to be made by Germany under this Part of the present Treaty. The Commission must comply with the following conditions and provisions :

(a) Whatever part of the full amount of the proved claims is not paid in gold, or in ships, securities and commodities or otherwise, Germany shall be required, under such conditions as the Commission may determine, to cover by way of guarantee by an equivalent issue of bonds, obligations or otherwise, in order to constitute an acknowledgement of the said part of the debt.

(b) In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first, to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the Powers represented on the Commission.

(c) In order to facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of the Allied and Associated countries, the Commission will, as provided in Article 235, take from Germany by way of

security for and acknowledgment of her debt a first instalment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes and charges of every description established or to be established by the Government of the German Empire or of the German States, or by any authority subject to them; these bonds will be delivered on account and in three portions, the marks gold being payable in conformity with Article 262 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty as follows:

(1) To be issued forthwith, 20,000,000,000 Marks gold bearer bonds, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest. There shall be specially applied towards the amortisation of these bonds the payments which Germany is pledged to make in conformity with Article 235, after deduction of the sums used for the reimbursement of expenses of the armies of occupation and for payment of foodstuffs and raw materials. Such bonds as have not been redeemed by May 1, 1921, shall then be exchanged for new bonds of the same type as those provided for below (Paragraph 12, c, 2).

(2) To be issued forthwith, further 40,000,000,000 Marks gold bearer bonds, bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent. per annum with an additional 1 per cent. for amortisation beginning in 1926 on the whole amount of the issue.

(3) To be delivered forthwith a covering undertaking in writing to issue when, but not until, the Commission is satisfied that Germany can meet such interest and sinking fund obligations, a further instalment of 40,000,000,000 Marks gold 5 per cent. bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the Commission.

The dates for payment of interest, the manner of applying the amortisation fund, and all other questions relating to the issue, management and regulation of the bond issue shall be determined by the Commission from time to time.

Further issues by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the Commission subsequently determines from time to time.

(d) In the event of bonds, obligations or other evidence of indebtedness issued by Germany by way of security for or acknowledgment of her reparation debt being disposed of outright, not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several Governments in whose favour Germany's original reparation indebtedness was created, an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, etc., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.

(e) The damage for repairing, reconstructing and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including reinstallation of furniture, machinery and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done.

(f) Decisions of the Commission relating to the total or partial cancellation of the capital or interest of any verified debt of Germany must be accompanied by a statement of its reasons.

13.

As to voting, the Commission will observe the following rules :

When a decision of the Commission is taken, the votes of all the Delegates entitled to vote, or in the absence of any of them, of their Assistant Delegates, shall be recorded. Abstention from voting is to be treated as a vote against the proposal under discussion. Assessors have no vote.

On the following questions unanimity is necessary :

(a) Questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or the cancellation of the whole or any part of the debt or obligations of Germany ;

(b) Questions of determining the amount and conditions of bonds or other obligations to be issued by the German Government and of fixing the time and manner for selling, negotiating or distributing such bonds ;

(c) Any postponement, total or partial, beyond the end of 1930, of the payment of instalments falling due between May 1, 1921, and the end of 1926 inclusive ;

(d) Any postponement, total or partial, of any instalment falling due after 1926 for a period exceeding three years ;

(e) Questions of applying in any particular case a method of measuring damages different from that which has been previously applied in a similar case ;

(f) Questions of the interpretation of the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty.

All other questions shall be decided by the vote of a majority.

In case of any difference of opinion among the Delegates, which cannot be solved by reference to their Governments, upon the question whether a given case is one which requires a unanimous vote for its decision or not, such difference shall be referred to the immediate arbitration of some impartial person to be agreed upon by their Governments, whose award the Allied and Associated Governments agree to accept.

14.

Decisions of the Commission, in accordance with the powers conferred upon it, shall forthwith become binding and may be put into immediate execution without further proceedings.

15.

The Commission will issue to each of the interested Powers, in such form as the Commission shall fix :

(1) A certificate stating that it holds for the account of the said Power bonds of the issues mentioned above, the said certificate, on the demand of the Power concerned, being divisible in a number of parts not exceeding five ;

(2) From time to time certificates stating the goods delivered by Germany on account of her reparation debt which it holds for the account of the said Power.

The said certificates shall be registered, and, upon notice to the Commission, may be transferred by endorsement.

When bonds are issued for sale or negotiation, and when goods are delivered by the Commission, certificates to an equivalent value must be withdrawn.

16.

Interest shall be debited to Germany as from May 1, 1921, in respect of her debt as determined by the Commission, after allowing for sums already covered by cash payments or their equivalent, or by bonds issued to the Commission, or under Article 243. The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent., unless the Commission shall determine at some future time that circumstances justify a variation of this rate.

The Commission, in fixing on May 1, 1921, the total amount of the debt of Germany, may take account of interest due on sums arising out of the reparation of material damage as from November 11, 1918, up to May 1, 1921.

17.

In case of default by Germany in the performance of any obligation under this Part of the present Treaty, the Commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested Powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

18.

The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

19.

Payments required to be made in gold or its equivalent on account of the proved claims of the Allied and Associated Powers may at any time be accepted by the Commission in the form of chattels, properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, within or without German territory, ships, bonds, shares or securities of any kind, or currencies of Germany or other States, the value of such substitutes for gold being fixed at a fair and just amount by the Commission itself.

20.

The Commission, in fixing or accepting payment in specified properties or rights, shall have due regard for any legal or equitable interests of the Allied and Associated Powers or of neutral Powers or of their nationals therein.

21.

No member of the Commission shall be responsible, except to the Government appointing him, for any action or omission as such member. No one of the Allied or Associated Governments assumes any responsibility in respect of any other Government.

22.

Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty this Annex may be amended by the unanimous decision of the Governments represented from time to time upon the Commission.

28.

When all the amounts due from Germany and her allies under the present Treaty or the decisions of the Commission have been discharged and all sums received, or their equivalents, shall have been distributed to the Powers interested, the Commission shall be dissolved.

Annex III

1.

Germany recognises the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to the replacement, ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the tonnage of German shipping at present in existence is much less than that lost by the Allied and Associated Powers in consequence of the German aggression, the right thus recognised will be enforced on German ships and boats under the following conditions :

The German Government, on behalf of themselves and so as to bind all other persons interested, cede to the Allied and Associated Governments the property in all the German merchant ships which are of 1,600 tons gross and upwards ; in one-half, reckoned in tonnage, of the ships which are between 1,000 tons and 1,600 tons gross ; in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the steam trawlers ; and in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the other fishing boats.

2.

The German Government will, within two months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, deliver to the Reparation Commission all the ships and boats mentioned in paragraph 1.

3.

The ships and boats mentioned in paragraph 1 include all ships and boats which (a) fly, or may be entitled to fly, the German merchant flag ; or (b) are owned by any German national, company or corporation or by any company or corporation belonging to a country other than an Allied or Associated country and under the control or direction of German nationals ; or (c) are now under construction (1) in Germany, (2) in other than Allied or Associated countries for the account of any German national, company or corporation.

4.

For the purpose of providing documents of title for the ships and boats to be handed over as above mentioned, the German Government will :

(a) Deliver to the Reparation Commission in respect of each vessel a bill of sale or other document of title evidencing the transfer to the Commission of the entire property in the vessel, free from all encumbrances, charges and liens of all kinds, as the Commission may require ;

(b) Take all measures that may be indicated by the Reparation Commission for ensuring that the ships themselves shall be placed at its disposal.

5.

As an additional part of reparation, Germany agrees to cause merchant ships to be built in German yards for the account of the Allied and Associated Governments as follows :

(a) Within three months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in German shipyards in each of the two years next succeeding the three months mentioned above.

(b) Within two years of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in each of the three years following the two years mentioned above.

(c) The amount of tonnage to be laid down in each year shall not exceed 200,000 tons, gross tonnage.

(d) The specifications of the ships to be built, the conditions under which they are to be built and delivered, the price per ton at which they are to be accounted for by the Reparation Commission, and all other questions relating to the accounting, ordering, building and delivery of the ships, shall be determined by the Commission.

6.

Germany undertakes to restore in kind and in normal condition of upkeep to the Allied and Associated Powers, within two months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in accordance with procedure to be laid down by the Reparation Commission, any boats and other movable appliances belonging to inland navigation which since August 1, 1914, have by any means whatever come into her possession or into the possession of her nationals, and which can be identified.

With a view to make good the loss in inland navigation tonnage, from whatever cause arising, which has been incurred during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers, and which cannot be made good by means of the restitution prescribed above, Germany agrees to cede to the Reparation Commission a portion of the German river fleet up to the amount of the loss mentioned above, provided that such cession shall not exceed 20 per cent. of the river fleet as it existed on November 11, 1918.

The conditions of this cession shall be settled by the arbitrators referred to in Article 339 of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty, who are charged with the settlement of difficulties relating to the apportionment of river tonnage resulting from the new international régime applicable to certain river systems or from the territorial changes affecting those systems.

7.

Germany agrees to take any measures that may be indicated to her by the Reparation Commission for obtaining the full title to the property in all ships which have during the war been transferred, or are in process of transfer, to neutral flags, without the consent of the Allied and Associated Governments.

8.

Germany waives all claims of any description against the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals in respect of the detention, employment, loss or damage of any German ships or boats, exception being made of payments due in respect of the employment of ships in conformity with the Armistice Agreement of January 13, 1919, and subsequent Agreements.

The handing over of ships of the German mercantile marine must be continued without interruption in accordance with the said Agreement.

9.

Germany waives all claims to vessels or cargoes sunk by or in consequence of naval action and subsequently salved, in which any of the Allied or Associated Governments or their nationals may have any interest either as owners, charterers, insurers or otherwise, notwithstanding any decree of condemnation which may have been made by a Prize Court of Germany or of her allies.

Annex IV

1.

The Allied and Associated Powers require, and Germany undertakes, that in part satisfaction of her obligations expressed in the present Part she will, as hereinafter provided, devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas of the Allied and Associated Powers, to the extent that these Powers may determine.

2.

The Allied and Associated Governments may file with the Reparation Commission lists showing :

(a) Animals, machinery, equipment, tools and like articles of a commercial character, which have been seized, consumed or destroyed by Germany or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations, and which such Governments, for the purpose of meeting immediate and urgent needs, desire to have replaced by animals and articles of the same nature which are in being in German territory at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty;

(b) Reconstruction materials (stones, bricks, refractory bricks, tiles, wood, window-glass, steel, lime, cement, etc.), machinery, heating apparatus, furniture and like articles of a commercial character which the said Governments desire to have produced and manufactured in Germany and delivered to them to permit of the restoration of the invaded areas.

3.

The lists relating to the articles mentioned in 2 (a) above shall be filed within sixty days after the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty. The lists relating to the articles in 2 (b) above shall be filed on or before December 31, 1919. The lists shall contain all such details as are customary in commercial contracts dealing with

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the subject matter, including specifications, dates of delivery (but not extending over more than four years), and places of delivery, but not price or value, which shall be fixed as hereinafter provided by the Commission.

4.

Immediately upon the filing of such lists with the Commission, the Commission shall consider the amount and number of the materials and animals mentioned in the lists provided for above which are to be required of Germany. In reaching a decision on this matter the Commission shall take into account such domestic requirements of Germany as it deems essential for the maintenance of Germany's social and economic life, the prices and dates at which similar articles can be obtained in the Allied and Associated countries as compared with those to be fixed for German articles, and the general interest of the Allied and Associated Governments that the industrial life of Germany be not so disorganised as to affect adversely the ability of Germany to perform the other acts of reparation stipulated for.

Machinery, equipment, tools and like articles of a commercial character in actual industrial use are not, however, to be demanded of Germany unless there is no free stock of such articles respectively which is not in use and is available, and then not in excess of thirty per cent. of the quantity of such articles in use in any one establishment or undertaking.

The Commission shall give representatives of the German Government an opportunity and a time to be heard as to their capacity to furnish the said materials, articles and animals. The decision of the Commission shall thereupon and at the earliest possible moment be communicated to the German Government and to the several interested Allied and Associated Governments. The German Government undertakes to deliver the materials, articles and animals as specified in the said communication, and the interested Allied and Associated Governments severally agree to accept the same, provided they conform to the specification given, or are not, in the judgment of the Commission, unfit to be utilised in the work of reparation.

5.

The Commission shall determine the value to be attributed to the materials, articles and animals to be delivered in accordance with the foregoing, and the Allied or Associated Power receiving the same agrees to be charged with such value, and the amount thereof shall be treated as a payment by Germany to be divided in accordance with Article 237 of this Part of the present Treaty.

In cases where the right to require physical restoration as above provided is exercised, the Commission shall ensure that the amount to be credited against the reparation obligation of Germany shall be the fair value of work done or materials supplied by Germany, and that the claim made by the interested Power in respect of the damage so repaired by physical restoration shall be discharged to the extent of the proportion which the damage thus repaired bears to the whole of the damage thus claimed for.

6.

As an immediate advance on account of the animals referred to in Paragraph 2 (a) above, Germany undertakes to deliver in equal monthly instalments in the three months following the coming into force of the present Treaty, the following quantities of live stock :

(1) *To the French Government.*

500 stallions (3 to 7 years) ;

30,000 fillies and mares (18 months to 7 years) ; type : Ardennais, Boulonnais or Belgian ;

2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years) ;

90,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years) ;

1,000 rams ;

100,000 sheep ;

10,000 goats.

(2) *To the Belgian Government.*

200 stallions (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type ;

5,000 mares (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type ;

5,000 fillies (18 months to 3 years), large Belgian type ;

2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years) ;

50,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years) ;

40,000 heifers ;

200 rams ;

20,000 sheep ;

15,000 sows.

The animals delivered shall be of average health and condition.

To the extent that animals so delivered cannot be identified as animals taken away or seized, the value of such animals shall be credited against the reparation obligations of Germany in accordance with paragraph 5 of this Annex.

7.

Without waiting for the decisions of the Commission referred to in Paragraph 4 of this Annex to be taken, Germany must continue the delivery to France of the agricultural material referred to in Article III of the renewal dated January 16, 1919, of the Armistice.

Annex V

1.

Germany accords the following options for the delivery of coal and derivatives of coal to the undermentioned signatories of the present Treaty.

2.

Germany undertakes to deliver to France seven million tons of coal per year for ten years. In addition, Germany undertakes to deliver to France annually for a period not exceeding ten years an amount of coal equal to the difference between the annual production before the war of the coal mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais, destroyed as

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a result of the war, and the production of the mines of the same area during the years in question : such delivery not to exceed twenty million tons in any one year of the first five years, and eight million tons in any one year of the succeeding five years.

It is understood that due diligence will be exercised in the restoration of the destroyed mines in the Nord and the Pas de Calais.

3.

Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium eight million tons of coal annually for ten years.

4.

Germany undertakes to deliver to Italy up to the following quantities of coal :

July 1919 to June 1920	..	..	..	$4\frac{1}{2}$	million tons,
„ 1920	„	1921	..	6	"
„ 1921	„	1922	..	$7\frac{1}{2}$	"
„ 1922	„	1923	..	8	"
„ 1923	„	1924	..	$8\frac{1}{2}$	"
and each of the following five years				}	

At least two-thirds of the actual deliveries to be land-borne.

5.

Germany further undertakes to deliver annually to Luxemburg, if directed by the Reparation Commission, a quantity of coal equal to the pre-war annual consumption of German coal in Luxemburg.

6.

The prices to be paid for coal delivered under these options shall be as follows :

(a) For overland delivery, including delivery by barge, the German pithead price to German nationals, plus the freight to French, Belgian, Italian or Luxemburg frontiers, provided that the pithead price does not exceed the pithead price of British coal for export. In the case of Belgian bunker coal, the price shall not exceed the Dutch bunker price. Railroad and barge tariffs shall not be higher than the lowest similar rates paid in Germany.

(b) For sea delivery, the German export price f.o.b. German ports, or the British export price f.o.b. British ports, whichever may be lower.

7.

The Allied and Associated Governments interested may demand the delivery, in place of coal, of metallurgical coke in the proportion of 3 tons of coke to 4 tons of coal.

8.

Germany undertakes to deliver to France, and to transport to the French frontier by rail or by water, the following products, during each of the three years following the coming into force of this Treaty :

Benzol ..	..	..	..	..	..	35,000 tons.
Coal tar ..	..	..	..	..	..	50,000 tons.
Sulphate of ammonia ..	..	..	..	..	..	80,000 tons.

All or part of the coal tar may, at the option of the French Government, be replaced by corresponding quantities of products of distillation, such as light oils, heavy oils, anthracene, naphthalene or pitch.

9.

The price paid for coke and for the articles referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be the same as the price paid by German nationals under the same conditions of shipment to the French frontier or to the German ports, and shall be subject to any advantages which may be accorded similar products furnished to German nationals.

10.

The foregoing options shall be exercised through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, which, subject to the specific provisions hereof, shall have power to determine all questions relative to procedure and the qualities and quantities of products, the quantity of coke which may be substituted for coal, and the times and modes of delivery and payment. In giving notice to the German Government of the foregoing options the Commission shall give at least 120 days' notice of deliveries to be made after January 1, 1920, and at least 30 days' notice of deliveries to be made between the coming into force of this Treaty and January 1, 1920. Until Germany has received the demands referred to in this paragraph, the provisions of the Protocol of December 25, 1918 (Execution of Article VI of the Armistice of November 11, 1918), remain in force. The notice to be given to the German Government of the exercise of the right of substitution accorded by paragraphs 7 and 8 shall be such as the Reparation Commission may consider sufficient. If the Commission shall determine that the full exercise of the foregoing options would interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany, the Commission is authorised to postpone or to cancel deliveries, and in so doing to settle all questions of priority; but the coal to replace coal from destroyed mines shall receive priority over other deliveries.

Annex VI

1.

Germany accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require as part of reparation the delivery by Germany of such quantities and kinds of dyestuffs and chemical drugs as the Commission may designate, not exceeding 50 per cent. of the total stock of each and every kind of dyestuff and chemical drug in Germany or under German control at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

This option shall be exercised within sixty days of the receipt by the Commission of such particulars as to stocks as may be considered necessary by the Commission.

2.

Germany further accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require delivery during the period from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty until January 1, 1920, and during each

REPARATION

period of six months thereafter until January 1, 1925, of any specified kind of dyestuff and chemical drug up to an amount not exceeding 25 per cent. of the German production of such dyestuffs and chemical drugs during the previous six months period. If in any case the production during such previous six months was, in the opinion of the Commission, less than normal, the amount required may be 25 per cent. of the normal production.

Such option shall be exercised within four weeks after the receipt of such particulars as to production and in such form as may be considered necessary by the Commission; these particulars shall be furnished by the German Government immediately after the expiration of each six months period.

3.

For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under paragraph 1, the price shall be fixed by the Commission having regard to pre-war net export prices and to subsequent increases of cost.

For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under paragraph 2, the price shall be fixed by the Commission having regard to pre-war net export prices and subsequent variations of cost, or the lowest net selling price of similar dyestuffs and chemical drugs to any other purchaser.

4.

All details, including mode and times of exercising the options, and making delivery, and all other questions arising under this arrangement shall be determined by the Reparation Commission; the German Government will furnish to the Commission all necessary information and other assistance which it may require.

5.

The above expression "dyestuffs and chemical drugs" includes all synthetic dyes and drugs and intermediate or other products used in connection with dyeing, so far as they are manufactured for sale. The present arrangement shall also apply to cinchona bark and salts of quinine.

Annex VII

Germany renounces on her own behalf and on behalf of her nationals in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights, titles or privileges of whatever nature in the submarine cables set out below, or in any portions thereof:

- Emden-Vigo : from the Straits of Dover to off Vigo ;
- Emden-Brest : from off Cherbourg to Brest ;
- Emden-Teneriffe : from off Dunkirk to off Teneriffe ;
- Emden-Azores (1) : from the Straits of Dover to Fayal ;
- Emden-Azores (2) : from the Straits of Dover to Fayal ;
- Azores-New York (1) : from Fayal to New York ;
- Azores-New York (2) : from Fayal to the longitude of Halifax ;
- Teneriffe-Monrovia : from off Teneriffe to off Monrovia ;

Monrovia-Lome :

from about ... { lat. : $2^{\circ} 30'$ N. ;
 long. : $7^{\circ} 40'$ W. of Greenwich ;

to about ... { lat. : $2^{\circ} 20'$ N. ;
 long. : $5^{\circ} 30'$ W. of Greenwich ;

and from about ... { lat. : $3^{\circ} 48'$ N. ;
 long. : $0^{\circ} 00'$;
 to Lome ;

Lome-Duala : from Lome to Duala ;

Monrovia-Pernambuco : from off Monrovia to off Pernambuco ;

Constantinople-Constanza : from Constantinople to Constanza ;

Yap-Shanghai, Yap-Guam, and Yap-Menado (Celebes) : from Yap Island to Shanghai, from Yap Island to Guam Island, and from Yap Island to Menado.

The value of the above-mentioned cables or portions thereof in so far as they are privately owned, calculated on the basis of the original cost less a suitable allowance for depreciation, shall be credited to Germany in the reparation account.

SECTION II

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 245.

Within six months after the coming into force of the present Treaty the German Government must restore to the French Government the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away from France by the German authorities in the course of the war of 1870-1871 and during this last war, in accordance with a list which will be communicated to it by the French Government; particularly the French flags taken in the course of the war of 1870-1871 and all the political papers taken by the German authorities on October 10, 1870, at the chateau of Cerçay, near Brunoy (Seine-et-Oise) belonging at the time to Mr. Rouher, formerly Minister of State.

ARTICLE 246.

Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Germany will restore to His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz the original Koran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the Turkish authorities and is stated to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II.

Within the same period Germany will hand over to His Britannic Majesty's Government the skull of the Sultan

Mkwawa, which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.

The delivery of the articles above referred to will be effected in such place and in such conditions as may be laid down by the Government to which they are to be restored.

ARTICLE 247.

Germany undertakes to furnish to the University of Louvain, within three months after a request made by it and transmitted through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, maps and objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed in the burning by Germany of the Library of Louvain. All details regarding such replacement will be determined by the Reparation Commission.

Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium, through the Reparation Commission, within six months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in order to enable Belgium to reconstitute two great artistic works :

(1) The leaves of the triptych of the Mystic Lamb painted by the Van Eyck brothers, formerly in the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent, now in the Berlin Museum ;

(2) The leaves of the triptych of the Last Supper, painted by Dierick Bouts, formerly in the Church of St. Peter at Louvain, two of which are now in the Berlin Museum and two in the Old Pinakothek at Munich.

PART IX

FINANCIAL CLAUSES

ARTICLE 248.

Subject to such exceptions as the Reparation Commission may approve, a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States shall be the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the present Treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto or under arrangements concluded between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers during the Armistice or its extensions.

Up to May 1, 1921, the German Government shall not export or dispose of, and shall forbid the export or disposal of, gold without the previous approval of the Allied and Associated Powers acting through the Reparation Commission.

ARTICLE 249.

There shall be paid by the German Government the total cost of all armies of the Allied and Associated Governments in occupied German territory from the date of the signature of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, including the keep of men and beasts, lodging and billeting, pay and allowances, salaries and wages, bedding, heating, lighting, clothing, equipment, harness and saddlery, armament and rolling stock, air services, treatment of sick and wounded, veterinary and remount services, transport service of all sorts (such as by rail, sea or river, motor lorries), communications and correspondence, and in general the cost of all administrative or technical services the working of which is necessary for the training of troops and for keeping their numbers up to strength and preserving their military efficiency.

The cost of such liabilities under the above heads so far as they relate to purchases or requisitions by the Allied and Associated Governments in the occupied territories shall be paid by the German Government to the Allied and Associated Governments in marks at the current or agreed rate of exchange. All other of the above costs shall be paid in gold marks.

ARTICLE 250.

Germany confirms the surrender of all material handed over to the Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and subsequent Armistice Agreements, and recognises the title of the Allied and Associated Powers to such material.

There shall be credited to the German Government, against the sums due from it to the Allied and Associated Powers for reparation, the value, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII (Reparation) of the present Treaty, of the material handed over in accordance with Article VII of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, Article III of the Armistice Agreement of January 16, 1919, as well as of any other material handed over in accordance with the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and of subsequent

Armistice Agreements, for which, as having non-military value, credit should in the judgment of the Reparation Commission be allowed to the German Government.

Property belonging to the Allied and Associated Governments or their nationals restored or surrendered under the Armistice Agreements in specie shall not be credited to the German Government.

ARTICLE 251.

The priority of the charges established by Article 248 shall, subject to the qualifications made below, be as follows :

- (a) The cost of the armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 during the Armistice and its extensions ;
- (b) The cost of any armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 after the coming into force of the present Treaty ;
- (c) The cost of reparation arising out of the present Treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto ;
- (d) The cost of all other obligations incumbent on Germany under the Armistice Conventions or under this Treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto.

The payment for such supplies of food and raw material for Germany and such other payments as may be judged by the Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations in respect of reparation will have priority to the extent and upon the conditions which have been or may be determined by the Governments of the said Powers.

ARTICLE 252.

The right of each of the Allied and Associated Powers to dispose of enemy assets and property within its jurisdiction at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty is not affected by the foregoing provisions.

ARTICLE 253.

Nothing in the foregoing provisions shall prejudice in any manner charges or mortgages lawfully effected in favour of the Allied or Associated Powers or their nationals respectively, before the date at which a state of war existed between

Germany and the Allied or Associated Power concerned, by the German Empire or its constituent States, or by German nationals, on assets in their ownership at that date.

ARTICLE 254.

The Powers to which German territory is ceded shall, subject to the qualifications made in Article 255, undertake to pay :

- (i) A portion of the debt of the German Empire as it stood on August 1, 1914, calculated on the basis of the ratio between the average for the three financial years 1911, 1912, 1913, of such revenues of the ceded territory, and the average for the same years of such revenues of the whole German Empire as in the judgment of the Reparation Commission are best calculated to represent the relative ability of the respective territories to make payment ;
- (ii) A portion of the debt as it stood on August 1, 1914, of the German State to which the ceded territory belonged, to be determined in accordance with the principle stated above.

Such portions shall be determined by the Reparation Commission.

The method of discharging the obligation, both in respect of capital and of interest, so assumed shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission. Such method may take the form, *inter alia*, of the assumption by the Power to which the territory is ceded of Germany's liability for the German debt held by her nationals. But in the event of the method adopted involving any payments to the German Government, such payments shall be transferred to the Reparation Commission on account of the sums due for reparation so long as any balance in respect of such sums remains unpaid.

ARTICLE 255.

(1) As an exception to the above provision and inasmuch as in 1871 Germany refused to undertake any portion of the burden of the French debt, France shall be, in respect of Alsace-Lorraine, exempt from any payment under Article 254.

(2) In the case of Poland that portion of the debt which, in the opinion of the Reparation Commission, is attributable to

the measures taken by the German and Prussian Governments for the German colonisation of Poland shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

(3) In the case of all ceded territories other than Alsace-Lorraine, that portion of the debt of the German Empire or German States which, in the opinion of the Reparation Commission, represents expenditure by the Governments of the German Empire or States upon the Government properties referred to in Article 256 shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

ARTICLE 256.

Powers to which German territory is ceded shall acquire all property and possessions situated therein belonging to the German Empire or to the German States, and the value of such acquisitions shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission, and paid by the State acquiring the territory to the Reparation Commission for the credit of the German Government on account of the sums due for reparation.

For the purposes of this Article the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

In view of the terms on which Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to Germany in 1871, France shall be exempt in respect thereof from making any payment or credit under this Article for any property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated therein.

Belgium also shall be exempt from making any payment or any credit under this Article for any property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated in German territory ceded to Belgium under the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 257.

In the case of the former German territories, including colonies, protectorates or dependencies, administered by a Mandatory under Article 22 of Part I (League of Nations) of the present Treaty, neither the territory nor the Mandatory Power shall be charged with any portion of the debt of the German Empire or States.

All property and possessions belonging to the German

Empire or to the German States situated in such territories shall be transferred with the territories to the Mandatory Power in its capacity as such and no payment shall be made nor any credit given to those Governments in consideration of this transfer.

For the purposes of this Article the property and possessions of the German Empire and of the German States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

ARTICLE 258.

Germany renounces all rights accorded to her or her nationals by treaties, conventions or agreements, of whatsoever kind, to representation upon or participation in the control or administration of commissions, state banks, agencies or other financial or economic organisations of an international character, exercising powers of control or administration, and operating in any of the Allied or Associated States, or in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, or in the dependencies of these States, or in the former Russian Empire.

ARTICLE 259.

(1) Germany agrees to deliver within one month from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, to such authority as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the sum in gold which was to be deposited in the Reichsbank in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the first issue of Turkish Government currency notes.

(2) Germany recognises her obligation to make annually for the period of twelve years the payments in gold for which provision is made in the German Treasury Bonds deposited by her from time to time in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the second and subsequent issues of Turkish Government currency notes.

(3) Germany undertakes to deliver, within one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to such authority as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the gold deposit constituted in the Reichsbank or elsewhere, representing the residue of the advance in gold

agreed to on May 5, 1915, by the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt to the Imperial Ottoman Government.

(4) Germany agrees to transfer to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers any title that she may have to the sum in gold and silver transmitted by her to the Turkish Ministry of Finance in November, 1918, in anticipation of the payment to be made in May, 1919, for the service of the Turkish Internal Loan.

(5) Germany undertakes to transfer to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, within a period of one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty, any sums in gold transferred as pledge or as collateral security to the German Government or its nationals in connection with loans made by them to the Austro-Hungarian Government.

(6) Without prejudice to Article 292 of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, Germany confirms the renunciation provided for in Article XV of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, of any benefit disclosed by the Treaties of Bucharest and of Brest-Litovsk and by the treaties supplementary thereto.

Germany undertakes to transfer, either to Roumania or to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as the case may be, all monetary instruments, specie, securities and negotiable instruments, or goods, which she has received under the aforesaid Treaties.

(7) The sums of money and all securities, instruments and goods of whatsoever nature, to be delivered, paid and transferred under the provisions of this Article, shall be disposed of by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in a manner hereafter to be determined by those Powers.

ARTICLE 260.

Without prejudice to the renunciation of any rights by Germany on behalf of herself or of her nationals in the other provisions of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission may within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty demand that the German Government become possessed of any rights and interests of German nationals in any public utility undertaking or in any concession operating in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, or in the possessions or dependencies of these States or in any territory.

formerly belonging to Germany or her allies, to be ceded by Germany or her allies to any Power or to be administered by a Mandatory under the present Treaty, and may require that the German Government transfer, within six months of the date of demand, all such rights and interests and any similar rights and interests the German Government may itself possess to the Reparation Commission.

Germany shall be responsible for indemnifying her nationals so dispossessed, and the Reparation Commission shall credit Germany, on account of sums due for reparation, with such sums in respect of the value of the transferred rights and interests as may be assessed by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government shall, within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, communicate to the Reparation Commission all such rights and interests, whether already granted, contingent or not yet exercised, and shall renounce on behalf of itself and its nationals in favour of the Allied and Associated Powers all such rights and interests which have not been so communicated.

ARTICLE 261.

Germany undertakes to transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers any claims she may have to payment or repayment by the Governments of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, and, in particular, any claims which may arise, now or hereafter, from the fulfilment of undertakings made by Germany during the war to those Governments.

ARTICLE 262.

Any monetary obligation due by Germany arising out of the present Treaty and expressed in terms of gold marks shall be payable at the option of the creditors in pounds sterling payable in London; gold dollars of the United States of America payable in New York; gold francs payable in Paris; or gold lire payable in Rome.

For the purpose of this Article the gold coins mentioned above shall be defined as being of the weight and fineness of gold as enacted by law on January 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 263.

Germany gives a guarantee to the Brazilian Government that all sums representing the sale of coffee belonging to the

State of Sao Paolo in the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp and Trieste, which were deposited with the Bank of Bleichröder at Berlin, shall be reimbursed together with interest at the rate or rates agreed upon. Germany, having prevented the transfer of the sums in question to the State of Sao Paolo at the proper time, guarantees also that the reimbursement shall be effected at the rate of exchange of the day of the deposit.

PART X
ECONOMIC CLAUSES
SECTION I
COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

CHAPTER I
CUSTOMS. REGULATIONS. DUTIES AND RESTRICTIONS

ARTICLE 264.

Germany undertakes that goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied or Associated States imported into German territory, from whatsoever place arriving, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those to which the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country are subject.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the importation into German territory of any goods the produce or manufacture of the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, from whatsoever place arriving, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 265.

Germany further undertakes that, in the matter of the régime applicable on importation, no discrimination against the commerce of any of the Allied and Associated States as compared with any other of the said States or any other foreign

country shall be made, even by indirect means, such as customs regulations or procedure, methods of verification or analysis, conditions of payment of duties, tariff classification or interpretation, or the operation of monopolies.

ARTICLE 266.

In all that concerns exportation Germany undertakes that goods, natural products or manufactured articles, exported from German territory to the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those paid on the like goods exported to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the exportation of any goods sent from her territory to any one of the Allied or Associated States which shall not equally extend to the exportation of the like goods, natural products or manufactured articles, sent to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 267.

Every favour, immunity or privilege in regard to the importation, exportation or transit of goods granted by Germany to any Allied or Associated State or to any other foreign country whatever shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to all the Allied and Associated States.

ARTICLE 268.

The provisions of Articles 264 to 267 inclusive of this Chapter and of Article 323 of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty are subject to the following exceptions :

(a) For a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from the territories of Alsace and Lorraine reunited to France shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The French Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent

annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period above mentioned the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany, and the free re-importation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges (including internal charges), of yarns, tissues, and other textile materials or textile products of any kind and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories of Alsace or Lorraine, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerisation, gassing, twisting or dressing.

(b) During a period of three years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from Polish territories which before the war were part of Germany shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The Polish Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

(c) The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to require Germany to accord freedom from customs duty, on importation into German customs territory, to natural products and manufactured articles which both originate in and come from the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

The nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy the benefits of this régime shall be communicated each year to the German Government.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

ARTICLE 269.

During the first six months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the duties imposed by Germany on imports from Allied and Associated States shall not be higher than the most favourable duties which were applied to imports into Germany on July 31, 1914.

During a further period of thirty months after the expiration of the first six months, this provision shall continue to be applied exclusively with regard to products which, being comprised in Section A of the First Category of the German Customs Tariff of December 25, 1902, enjoyed at the above-mentioned date (July 31, 1914) rates conventionalised by treaties with the Allied and Associated Powers, with the addition of all kinds of wine and vegetable oils, of artificial silk and of washed or scoured wool, whether or not they were the subject of special conventions before July 31, 1914.

ARTICLE 270.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to apply to German territory occupied by their troops a special customs régime as regards imports and exports, in the event of such a measure being necessary in their opinion in order to safeguard the economic interests of the population of these territories.

CHAPTER II

SHIPPING

ARTICLE 271.

As regards sea fishing, maritime coasting trade, and maritime towage, vessels of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy, in German territorial waters, the treatment accorded to vessels of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE 272.

Germany agrees that, notwithstanding any stipulation to the contrary contained in the Conventions relating to the North Sea fisheries and liquor traffic, all rights of inspection and police shall, in the case of fishing boats of the Allied Powers, be exercised solely by ships belonging to those Powers.

ARTICLE 273.

In the case of vessels of the Allied or Associated Powers, all classes of certificates or documents relating to the vessel, which were recognised as valid by Germany before the war, or which may hereafter be recognised as valid by the principal maritime States, shall be recognised by Germany as valid and as equivalent to the corresponding certificates issued to German vessels.

A similar recognition shall be accorded to the certificates

and documents issued to their vessels by the Governments of new States, whether they have a sea-coast or not, provided that such certificates and documents shall be issued in conformity with the general practice observed in the principal maritime States.

The High Contracting Parties agree to recognise the flag flown by the vessels of an Allied or Associated Power having no sea-coast which are registered at some one specified place situated in its territory ; such place shall serve as the port of registry of such vessels.

CHAPTER III UNFAIR COMPETITION

ARTICLE 274.

Germany undertakes to adopt all the necessary legislative and administrative measures to protect goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied and Associated Powers from all forms of unfair competition in commercial transactions.

Germany undertakes to prohibit and repress by seizure and by other appropriate remedies the importation, exportation, manufacture, distribution, sale or offering for sale in its territory of all goods bearing upon themselves or their usual get-up or wrappings any marks, names, devices, or descriptions whatsoever which are calculated to convey directly or indirectly a false indication of the origin, type, nature, or special characteristics of such goods.

ARTICLE 275.

Germany undertakes on condition that reciprocity is accorded in these matters to respect any law, or any administrative or judicial decision given in conformity with such law, in force in any Allied or Associated State and duly communicated to her by the proper authorities, defining or regulating the right to any regional appellation in respect of wine or spirits produced in the State to which the region belongs, or the conditions under which the use of any such appellation may be permitted ; and the importation, exportation, manufacture, distribution, sale or offering for sale of products or articles bearing regional appellations inconsistent with such law or order shall be prohibited by the German Government and repressed by the measures prescribed in the preceding Article.

CHAPTER IV

TREATMENT OF NATIONALS OF ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

ARTICLE 276.

Germany undertakes :

(a) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers to any prohibition in regard to the exercise of occupations, professions, trade and industry, which shall not be equally applicable to all aliens without exception ;

(b) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers in regard to the rights referred to in paragraph (a) to any regulation or restriction which might contravene directly or indirectly the stipulations of the said paragraph, or which shall be other or more disadvantageous than those which are applicable to nationals of the most favoured nation ;

(c) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers, their property, rights or interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested, to any charge, tax or impost, direct or indirect, other or higher than those which are or may be imposed on her own nationals or their property, rights or interests ;

(d) not to subject the nationals of any one of the Allied and Associated Powers to any restriction which was not applicable on July 1, 1914, to the nationals of such Powers, unless such restriction is likewise imposed on her own nationals.

ARTICLE 277.

The nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in German territory a constant protection for their persons and for their property, rights and interests, and shall have free access to the courts of law.

ARTICLE 278.

Germany undertakes to recognise any new nationality which has been or may be acquired by her nationals under the laws of the Allied and Associated Powers and in accordance with the decisions of the competent authorities of these Powers pursuant to naturalisation laws or under treaty stipulations, and to regard such persons as having, in consequence of the

acquisition of such new nationality, in all respects severed their allegiance to their country of origin.

ARTICLE 279.

The Allied and Associated Powers may appoint consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents in German towns and ports. Germany undertakes to approve the designation of the consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents, whose names shall be notified to her, and to admit them to the exercise of their functions in conformity with the usual rules and customs.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL ARTICLES

ARTICLE 280.

The obligations imposed on Germany by Chapter I and by Articles 271 and 272 of Chapter II above shall cease to have effect five years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, unless otherwise provided in the text, or unless the Council of the League of Nations shall, at least twelve months before the expiration of that period, decide that these obligations shall be maintained for a further period with or without amendment.

Article 276 of Chapter IV shall remain in operation, with or without amendment, after the period of five years for such further period, if any, not exceeding five years, as may be determined by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 281.

If the German Government engages in international trade, it shall not in respect thereof have or be deemed to have any rights, privileges or immunities of sovereignty.

SECTION II

TREATIES

ARTICLE 282.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty and subject to the provisions thereof the multilateral treaties, conventions and agreements of an economic or technical character enumerated below and in the subsequent Articles shall alone

be applied as between Germany and those of the Allied and Associated Powers party thereto :

1. Conventions of March 14, 1884, December 1, 1886, and March 23, 1887, and Final Protocol of July 7, 1887, regarding the protection of submarine cables.
2. Convention of October 11, 1909, regarding the international circulation of motor-cars.
3. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to customs inspection, and Protocol of May 18, 1907.
4. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardisation of railways.
5. Convention of July 5, 1890, regarding the publication of customs tariffs and the organisation of an International Union for the publication of customs tariffs.
6. Convention of December 31, 1913, regarding the unification of commercial statistics.
7. Convention of April 25, 1907, regarding the raising of the Turkish customs tariff.
8. Convention of March 14, 1857, for the redemption of toll dues on the Sound and Belts.
9. Convention of June 22, 1861, for the redemption of the Stade Toll on the Elbe.
10. Convention of July 16, 1863, for the redemption of the toll dues on the Scheldt.
11. Convention of October 29, 1888, regarding the establishment of a definite arrangement guaranteeing the free use of the Suez Canal.
12. Conventions of September 23, 1910, respecting the unification of certain regulations regarding collisions and salvage at sea.
13. Convention of December 21, 1904, regarding the exemption of hospital ships from dues and charges in ports.
14. Convention of February 4, 1898, regarding the tonnage measurement of vessels for inland navigation.
15. Convention of September 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.
16. Convention of September 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.
17. Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

18. Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.
19. Sanitary Conventions of January 30, 1892, April 15, 1893, April 3, 1894, March 19, 1897, and December 3, 1903.
20. Convention of May 20, 1875, regarding the unification and improvement of the metric system.
21. Convention of November 29, 1906, regarding the unification of pharmacopœial formulæ for potent drugs.
22. Convention of November 16 and 19, 1885, regarding the establishment of a concert pitch.
23. Convention of June 7, 1905, regarding the creation of an International Agricultural Institute at Rome.
24. Conventions of November 3, 1881, and April 15, 1889, regarding precautionary measures against phylloxera.
25. Convention of March 19, 1902, regarding the protection of birds useful to agriculture.
26. Convention of June 12, 1902, as to the protection of minors.

ARTICLE 283.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply the conventions and agreements hereinafter mentioned, in so far as concerns them, on condition that the special stipulations contained in this Article are fulfilled by Germany.

Postal Conventions :

Conventions and agreements of the Universal Postal Union concluded at Vienna, July 4, 1891.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Washington, June 15, 1897.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Rome, May 26, 1906.

Telegraphic Conventions :

International Telegraphic Conventions signed at St. Petersburg, July 10/22, 1875.

Regulations and Tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraphic Conference, Lisbon, June 11, 1908.

Germany undertakes not to refuse her assent to the conclusion by the new States of the special arrangements referred to in the conventions and agreements relating to the Universal Postal Union and to the International Telegraphic Union, to which the said new States have adhered or may adhere.

ARTICLE 284.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the International Radio-Telegraphic Convention of July 5, 1912, on condition that Germany fulfils the provisional regulations which will be indicated to her by the Allied and Associated Powers.

If within five years after the coming into force of the present Treaty a new convention regulating international radio-telegraphic communications should have been concluded to take the place of the Convention of July 5, 1912, this new convention shall bind Germany, even if Germany should refuse either to take part in drawing up the convention, or to subscribe thereto.

This new convention will likewise replace the provisional regulations in force.

ARTICLE 285.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them and under the conditions stipulated in Article 272, the conventions hereinafter mentioned :

(1) The Conventions of May 6, 1882, and February 1, 1889, regulating the fisheries in the North Sea outside territorial waters.

(2) The Conventions and Protocols of November 16, 1887, February 14, 1893, and April 11, 1894, regarding the North Sea liquor traffic.

ARTICLE 286.

The International Convention of Paris of March 20, 1883, for the protection of industrial property, revised at Washington on June 2, 1911 ; and the International Convention of Berne of September 9, 1886, for the protection of literary and artistic works, revised at Berlin on November 13, 1908, and completed by the additional Protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, will again come into effect as from the coming into force of the present Treaty, in so far as they are not affected or modified by the exceptions and restrictions resulting therefrom.

ARTICLE 287.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the

Convention of The Hague of July 17, 1905, relating to civil procedure. This renewal, however, will not apply to France, Portugal and Roumania.

ARTICLE 288.

The special rights and privileges granted to Germany by Article 3 of the Convention of December 2, 1899, relating to Samoa shall be considered to have terminated on August 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 289.

Each of the Allied or Associated Powers, being guided by the general principles or special provisions of the present Treaty, shall notify to Germany the bilateral treaties or conventions which such Allied or Associated Power wishes to revive with Germany.

The notification referred to in the present Article shall be made either directly or through the intermediary of another Power. Receipt thereof shall be acknowledged in writing by Germany. The date of the revival shall be that of the notification.

The Allied and Associated Powers undertake among themselves not to revive with Germany any conventions or treaties which are not in accordance with the terms of the present Treaty.

The notification shall mention any provisions of the said conventions and treaties which, not being in accordance with the terms of the present Treaty, shall not be considered as revived. In case of any difference of opinion, the League of Nations will be called on to decide.

A period of six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty is allowed to the Allied and Associated Powers within which to make the notification.

Only those bilateral treaties and conventions which have been the subject of such a notification shall be revived between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany; all the others are and shall remain abrogated.

The above regulations apply to all bilateral treaties or conventions existing between all the Allied and Associated Powers signatories to the present Treaty and Germany, even if the said Allied and Associated Powers have not been in a state of war with Germany.

ARTICLE 290.

Germany recognises that all the treaties, conventions or agreements which she has concluded with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey since August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present Treaty are and remain abrogated by the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 291.

Germany undertakes to secure to the Allied and Associated Powers, and to the officials and nationals of the said Powers, the enjoyment of all the rights and advantages of any kind which she may have granted to Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, or to the officials and nationals of these States by treaties, conventions or arrangements concluded before August 1, 1914, so long as those treaties, conventions or arrangements remain in force.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to accept or not the enjoyment of these rights and advantages.

ARTICLE 292.

Germany recognises that all treaties, conventions or arrangements which she concluded with Russia, or with any State or Government of which the territory previously formed a part of Russia, or with Roumania, before August 1, 1914, or after that date until the coming into force of the present Treaty, are and remain abrogated.

ARTICLE 293.

Should an Allied or Associated Power, Russia, or a State or Government of which the territory formerly constituted a part of Russia, have been forced since August 1, 1914, by reason of military occupation or by any other means or for any other cause, to grant or to allow to be granted by the act of any public authority, concessions, privileges and favours of any kind to Germany or to a German national, such concessions, privileges and favours are *ipso facto* annulled by the present Treaty.

No claims or indemnities which may result from this annulment shall be charged against the Allied or Associated Powers or the Powers, States, Governments or public authorities which are released from their engagements by the present Article.

ARTICLE 294.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty Germany undertakes to give the Allied and Associated Powers and their nationals the benefit *ipso facto* of the rights and advantages of any kind which she has granted by treaties, conventions or arrangements to non-belligerent States or their nationals since August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present Treaty, so long as those treaties, conventions or arrangements remain in force.

ARTICLE 295.

Those of the High Contracting Parties who have not yet signed, or who have signed but not yet ratified, the Opium Convention signed at The Hague on January 23, 1912, agree to bring the said Convention into force, and for this purpose to enact the necessary legislation without delay and in any case within a period of twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Furthermore, they agree that ratification of the present Treaty should in the case of Powers which have not yet ratified the Opium Convention be deemed in all respects equivalent to the ratification of that Convention and to the signature of the Special Protocol which was opened at The Hague in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Third Opium Conference in 1914 for bringing the said Convention into force.

For this purpose the Government of the French Republic will communicate to the Government of the Netherlands a certified copy of the protocol of the deposit of ratifications of the present Treaty, and will invite the Government of the Netherlands to accept and deposit the said certified copy as if it were a deposit of ratifications of the Opium Convention and a signature of the Additional Protocol of 1914.

SECTION III**DEBTS****ARTICLE 296.**

There shall be settled through the intervention of clearing offices to be established by each of the High Contracting Parties within three months of the notification referred to in paragraph (e) hereafter the following classes of pecuniary obligations:

(1) Debts payable before the war and due by a national of one of the Contracting Powers, residing within its territory, to a national of an Opposing Power, residing within its territory;

(2) Debts which became payable during the war to nationals of one Contracting Power residing within its territory and arose out of transactions or contracts with the nationals of an Opposing Power, resident within its territory, of which the total or partial execution was suspended on account of the declaration of war;

(3) Interest which has accrued due before and during the war to a national of one of the Contracting Powers in respect of securities issued by an Opposing Power, provided that the payment of interest on such securities to the nationals of that Power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war;

(4) Capital sums which have become payable before and during the war to nationals of one of the Contracting Powers in respect of securities issued by one of the Opposing Powers, provided that the payment of such capital sums to nationals of that Power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war.

The proceeds of liquidation of enemy property, rights and interests mentioned in Section IV and in the Annex thereto will be accounted for through the clearing offices, in the currency and at the rate of exchange hereinafter provided in paragraph (d), and disposed of by them under the conditions provided by the said Section and Annex.

The settlements provided for in this Article shall be effected according to the following principles and in accordance with the Annex to this Section :

(a) Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prohibit, as from the coming into force of the present Treaty, both the payment and the acceptance of payment of such debts, and also all communications between the interested parties with regard to the settlement of the said debts otherwise than through the clearing offices ;

(b) Each of the High Contracting Parties shall be respectively responsible for the payment of such debts due by its nationals, except in the cases where before the war the debtor was in a state of bankruptcy or failure, or had given formal indication of insolvency or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation

during the war. Nevertheless, debts due by the inhabitants of territory invaded or occupied by the enemy before the Armistice will not be guaranteed by the States of which those territories form part ;

(c) The sums due to the nationals of one of the High Contracting Parties by the nationals of an Opposing State will be debited to the clearing office of the country of the debtor, and paid to the creditor by the clearing office of the country of the creditor ;

(d) Debts shall be paid or credited in the currency of such one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or the British Dominions or India, as may be concerned. If the debts are payable in some other currency they shall be paid or credited in the currency of the country concerned, whether an Allied or Associated Power, Colony, Protectorate, British Dominion or India, at the pre-war rate of exchange.

For the purpose of this provision the pre-war rate of exchange shall be defined as the average cable transfer rate prevailing in the Allied or Associated country concerned during the month immediately preceding the outbreak of war between the said country concerned and Germany.

If a contract provides for a fixed rate of exchange governing the conversion of the currency in which the debt is stated into the currency of the Allied or Associated country concerned, then the above provisions concerning the rate of exchange shall not apply.

In the case of new States the currency in which and the rate of exchange at which debts shall be paid or credited shall be determined by the Reparation Commission provided for in Part VIII (Reparation) ;

(e) The provisions of this Article and of the Annex hereto shall not apply as between Germany on the one hand and any one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or any one of the British Dominions or India on the other hand, unless within a period of one month from the deposit of the ratifications of the present Treaty by the Power in question, or of the ratification on behalf of such Dominion or of India, notice to that effect is given to Germany by the Government of such Allied or Associated Power or of such Dominion or of India as the case may be.

(f) The Allied and Associated Powers who have adopted this Article and the Annex hereto may agree between themselves to apply them to their respective nationals established in their territory so far as regards matters between their nationals and German nationals. In this case the payments made by application of this provision will be subject to arrangements between the Allied and Associated Clearing Offices concerned.

Annex

1.

Each of the High Contracting Parties will, within three months from the notification provided for in Article 296, paragraph (e), establish a Clearing Office for the collection and payment of enemy debts.

Local Clearing Offices may be established for any particular portion of the territories of the High Contracting Parties. Such local Clearing Offices may perform all the functions of a central Clearing Office in their respective districts, except that all transactions with the Clearing Office in the Opposing State must be effected through the central Clearing Office.

2.

In this Annex the pecuniary obligations referred to in the first paragraph of Article 296 are described as "enemy debts," the persons from whom the same are due as "enemy debtors," the persons to whom they are due as "enemy creditors," the Clearing Office in the country of the creditor is called the "Creditor Clearing Office," and the Clearing Office in the country of the debtor is called the "Debtor Clearing Office."

3.

The High Contracting Parties will subject contraventions of paragraph (a) of Article 296 to the same penalties as are at present provided by their legislation for trading with the enemy. They will similarly prohibit within their territory all legal process relating to payment of enemy debts, except in accordance with the provisions of this Annex.

4.

The Government guarantee specified in paragraph (b) of Article 296 shall take effect whenever, for any reason, a debt shall not be recoverable, except in a case where at the date of the outbreak of war the debt was barred by the laws of prescription in force in the country of the debtor, or where the debtor was at that time in a state of bankruptcy or failure or had given formal indication of insolvency, or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. In such case the procedure specified by this Annex shall apply to payment of the dividends.

The terms "bankruptcy" and "failure" refer to the application of legislation providing for such juridical conditions. The expression "formal indication of insolvency" bears the same meaning as it has in English law.

5.

Creditors shall give notice to the Creditor Clearing Office within six months of its establishment of debts due to them, and shall furnish the Clearing Office with any documents and information required of them.

The High Contracting Parties will take all suitable measures to trace and punish collusion between enemy creditors and debtors. The Clearing Offices will communicate to one another any evidence and information which might help the discovery and punishment of such collusion.

The High Contracting Parties will facilitate as much as possible postal and telegraphic communication at the expense of the parties concerned and through the intervention of the Clearing Offices between debtors and creditors desirous of coming to an agreement as to the amount of their debt.

The Creditor Clearing Office will notify the Debtor Clearing Office of all debts declared to it. The Debtor Clearing Office will, in due course, inform the Creditor Clearing Office which debts are admitted and which debts are contested. In the latter case, the Debtor Clearing Office will give the grounds for the non-admission of debt.

6.

When a debt has been admitted, in whole or in part, the Debtor Clearing Office will at once credit the Creditor Clearing Office with the amount admitted, and at the same time notify it of such credit.

7.

The debt shall be deemed to be admitted in full and shall be credited forthwith to the Creditor Clearing Office unless within three months from the receipt of the notification or such longer time as may be agreed to by the Creditor Clearing Office notice has been given by the Debtor Clearing Office that it is not admitted.

8.

When the whole or part of a debt is not admitted the two Clearing Offices will examine into the matter jointly and will endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement.

9.

The Creditor Clearing Office will pay to the individual creditor the sums credited to it out of the funds placed at its disposal by the Government of its country and in accordance with the conditions fixed by the said Government, retaining any sums considered necessary to cover risks, expenses or commissions.

10.

Any person having claimed payment of an enemy debt which is not admitted in whole or in part shall pay to the Clearing Office, by way of fine, interest at 5 per cent. on the part not admitted. Any person having unduly refused to admit the whole or part of a debt claimed from him shall pay, by way of fine, interest at 5 per cent. on the amount with regard to which his refusal shall be disallowed.

Such interest shall run from the date of expiration of the period

provided for in paragraph 7 until the date on which the claim shall have been disallowed or the debt paid.

Each Clearing Office shall in so far as it is concerned take steps to collect the fines above provided for, and will be responsible if such fines cannot be collected.

The fines will be credited to the other Clearing Office, which shall retain them as a contribution towards the cost of carrying out the present provisions.

11.

The balance between the Clearing Offices shall be struck monthly and the credit balance paid in cash by the debtor State within a week.

Nevertheless, any credit balances which may be due by one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers shall be retained until complete payment shall have been effected of the sums due to the Allied or Associated Powers or their nationals on account of the war.

12.

To facilitate discussion between the Clearing Offices each of them shall have a representative at the place where the other is established.

13.

Except for special reasons all discussions in regard to claims will, so far as possible, take place at the Debtor Clearing Office.

14.

In conformity with Article 296, paragraph (b), the High Contracting Parties are responsible for the payment of the enemy debts owing by their nationals.

The Debtor Clearing Office will therefore credit the Creditor Clearing Office with all debts admitted, even in case of inability to collect them from the individual debtor. The Governments concerned will, nevertheless, invest their respective Clearing Offices with all necessary powers for the recovery of debts which have been admitted.

As an exception, the admitted debts owing by persons having suffered injury from acts of war shall only be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office when the compensation due to the person concerned in respect of such injury shall have been paid.

15.

Each Government will defray the expenses of the Clearing Office set up in its territory, including the salaries of the staff.

16.

Where the two Clearing Offices are unable to agree whether a debt claimed is due, or in case of a difference between an enemy debtor and an enemy creditor or between the Clearing Offices, the dispute shall either be referred to arbitration if the parties so agree under conditions fixed by agreement between them, or referred to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI hereafter.

At the request of the Creditor Clearing Office the dispute may, however, be submitted to the jurisdiction of the Courts of the place of domicile of the debtor.

17.

Recovery of sums found by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, the Court, or the Arbitration Tribunal to be due shall be effected through the Clearing Offices as if these sums were debts admitted by the Debtor Clearing Office.

18.

Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint an agent who will be responsible for the presentation to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal of the cases conducted on behalf of its Clearing Office. This agent will exercise a general control over the representatives or counsel employed by its nationals.

Decisions will be arrived at on documentary evidence, but it will be open to the Tribunal to hear the parties in person, or according to their preference by their representatives approved by the two Governments, or by the agent referred to above, who shall be competent to intervene along with the party or to re-open and maintain a claim abandoned by the same.

19.

The Clearing Offices concerned will lay before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal all the information and documents in their possession, so as to enable the Tribunal to decide rapidly on the cases which are brought before it.

20.

Where one of the parties concerned appeals against the joint decision of the two Clearing Offices he shall make a deposit against the costs, which deposit shall only be refunded when the first judgment is modified in favour of the appellant and in proportion to the success he may attain, his opponent in case of such a refund being required to pay an equivalent proportion of the costs and expenses. Security accepted by the Tribunal may be substituted for a deposit.

A fee of 5 per cent. of the amount in dispute shall be charged in respect of all cases brought before the Tribunal. This fee shall, unless the Tribunal directs otherwise, be borne by the unsuccessful party. Such fee shall be added to the deposit referred to. It is also independent of the security.

The Tribunal may award to one of the parties a sum in respect of the expenses of the proceedings.

Any sum payable under this paragraph shall be credited to the Clearing Office of the successful party as a separate item.

21.

With a view to the rapid settlement of claims, due regard shall be paid in the appointment of all persons connected with the Clearing Offices or with the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to their knowledge of the language of the other country concerned.

Each of the Clearing Offices will be at liberty to correspond with the other and to forward documents in its own language.

22.

Subject to any special agreement to the contrary between the Governments concerned, debts shall carry interest in accordance with the following provisions :

Interest shall not be payable on sums of money due by way of dividend, interest or other periodical payments which themselves represent interest on capital.

The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent. per annum except in cases where, by contract, law or custom, the creditor is entitled to payment of interest at a different rate. In such cases the rate to which he is entitled shall prevail.

Interest shall run from the date of commencement of hostilities (or, if the sum of money to be recovered fell due during the war, from the date at which it fell due) until the sum is credited to the Clearing Office of the creditor.

Sums due by way of interest shall be treated as debts admitted by the Clearing Offices and shall be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office in the same way as such debts.

23.

Where by decision of the Clearing Offices or the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal a claim is held not to fall within Article 296, the creditor shall be at liberty to prosecute the claim before the Courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

The presentation of a claim to the Clearing Office suspends the operation of any period of prescription.

24.

The High Contracting Parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

25.

In any case where a Creditor Clearing Office declines to notify a claim to the Debtor Clearing Office, or to take any step provided for in this Annex, intended to make effective in whole or in part a request of which it has received due notice, the enemy creditor shall be entitled to receive from the Clearing Office a certificate setting out the amount of the claim, and shall then be entitled to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

SECTION IV

PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS

ARTICLE 297.

The question of private property, rights and interests in an enemy country shall be settled according to the principles laid down in this Section and to the provisions of the Annex hereto.

(a) The exceptional war measures and measures of transfer (defined in paragraph 3 of the Annex hereto) taken by Germany with respect to the property, rights and interests of nationals

of Allied or Associated Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, when liquidation has not been completed, shall be immediately discontinued or stayed and the property, rights and interests concerned restored to their owners, who shall enjoy full rights therein in accordance with the provisions of Article 298.

(b) Subject to any contrary stipulations which may be provided for in the present Treaty, the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions and protectorates, including territories ceded to them by the present Treaty.

The liquidation shall be carried out in accordance with the laws of the Allied or Associated State concerned, and the German owner shall not be able to dispose of such property, rights or interests nor to subject them to any charge without the consent of that State.

German nationals who acquire *ipso facto* the nationality of an Allied or Associated Power in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty will not be considered as German nationals within the meaning of this paragraph.

(c) The price or the amount of compensation in respect of the exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph (b) will be fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated.

(d) As between the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals on the one hand and Germany or her nationals on the other hand, all the exceptional war measures, or measures of transfer, or acts done or to be done in execution of such measures as defined in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Annex hereto, shall be considered as final and binding upon all persons except as regards the reservations laid down in the present Treaty.

(e) The nationals of Allied and Associated Powers shall be entitled to compensation in respect of damage or injury inflicted upon their property, rights or interests, including any company or association in which they are interested, in German territory as it existed on August 1, 1914, by the application

either of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Annex hereto. The claims made in this respect by such nationals shall be investigated, and the total of the compensation shall be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI or by an Arbitrator appointed by that Tribunal. This compensation shall be borne by Germany, and may be charged upon the property of German nationals within the territory or under the control of the claimant's State. This property may be constituted as a pledge for enemy liabilities under the conditions fixed by paragraph 4 of the Annex hereto. The payment of this compensation may be made by the Allied or Associated State, and the amount will be debited to Germany.

(f) Whenever a national of an Allied or Associated Power is entitled to property which has been subjected to a measure of transfer in German territory and expresses a desire for its restitution, his claim for compensation in accordance with paragraph (e) shall be satisfied by the restitution of the said property if it still exists in specie.

In such case Germany shall take all necessary steps to restore the evicted owner to the possession of his property, free from all encumbrances or burdens with which it may have been charged after the liquidation, and to indemnify all third parties injured by the restitution.

If the restitution provided for in this paragraph cannot be effected, private agreements arranged by the intermediation of the Powers concerned or the Clearing Offices provided for in the Annex to Section III may be made, in order to secure that the national of the Allied or Associated Power may secure compensation for the injury referred to in paragraph (e) by the grant of advantages or equivalents which he agrees to accept in place of the property, rights or interests of which he was deprived.

Through restitution in accordance with this Article, the price or the amount of compensation fixed by the application of paragraph (e) will be reduced by the actual value of the property restored, account being taken of compensation in respect of loss of use or deterioration.

(g) The rights conferred by paragraph (f) are reserved to owners who are nationals of Allied or Associated Powers within whose territory legislative measures prescribing the general

liquidation of enemy property, rights or interests were not applied before the signature of the Armistice.

(h) Except in cases where, by application of paragraph (f), restitutions in specie have been made, the net proceeds of sales of enemy property, rights or interests wherever situated carried out either by virtue of war legislation, or by application of this Article, and in general all cash assets of enemies, shall be dealt with as follows :

(1) As regards Powers adopting Section III and the Annex thereto, the said proceeds and cash assets shall be credited to the Power of which the owner is a national, through the Clearing Office established thereunder ; any credit balance in favour of Germany resulting therefrom shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

(2) As regards Powers not adopting Section III and the Annex thereto, the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers held by Germany shall be paid immediately to the person entitled thereto or to his Government ; the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of German nationals received by an Allied or Associated Power shall be subject to disposal by such Power in accordance with its laws and regulations, and may be applied in payment of the claims and debts defined by this Article or paragraph 4 of the Annex hereto. Any property, rights and interests or proceeds thereof or cash assets not used as above provided may be retained by the said Allied or Associated Power, and if retained the cash value thereof shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

In the case of liquidations effected in new States, which are signatories of the present Treaty as Allied and Associated Powers, or in States which are not entitled to share in the reparation payments to be made by Germany, the proceeds of liquidations effected by such States shall, subject to the rights of the Reparation Commission under the present Treaty, particularly under Articles 235 and 260, be paid direct to the owner. If on the application of that owner, the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, provided for by Section VI of this Part or an arbitrator appointed by that Tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Government of the State in question outside its general legislation were unfairly

prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by that State.

(i) Germany undertakes to compensate her nationals in respect of the sale or retention of their property, rights or interests in Allied or Associated States.

(j) The amount of all taxes and imposts upon capital levied or to be levied by Germany on the property, rights and interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers from November 11, 1918, until three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, or, in the case of property, rights or interests which have been subjected to exceptional measures of war, until restitution in accordance with the present Treaty, shall be restored to the owners.

ARTICLE 298.

Germany undertakes, with regard to the property, rights and interests, including companies and associations in which they were interested, restored to nationals of Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the provisions of Article 297, paragraph (a) or (f) :

(a) to restore and maintain, except as expressly provided in the present Treaty, the property, rights and interests of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers in the legal position obtaining in respect of the property, rights and interests of German nationals under the laws in force before the war ;

(b) not to subject the property, rights or interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers to any measures in derogation of property rights which are not applied equally to the property, rights and interests of German nationals, and to pay adequate compensation in the event of the application of these measures.

Annex

1.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 297, paragraph (d), the validity of vesting orders and of orders for the winding up of businesses or companies, and of any other orders, directions, decisions or instructions of any court or any department of the Government of any of the High Contracting Parties made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights and interests is confirmed. The interests of all persons shall be regarded as having been effectively dealt with by any order,

direction, decision or instruction dealing with property in which they may be interested, whether or not such interests are specifically mentioned in the order, direction, decision or instruction. No question shall be raised as to the regularity of a transfer of any property, rights or interests dealt with in pursuance of any such order, direction, decision or instruction. Every action taken with regard to any property, business, or company, whether as regards its investigation, sequestration, compulsory administration, use, requisition, supervision, or winding up, the sale or management of property, rights or interests, the collection or discharge of debts, the payment of costs, charges or expenses, or any other matter whatsoever, in pursuance of orders, directions, decisions or instructions of any court or of any department of the Government of any of the High Contracting Parties, made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights or interests, is confirmed. Provided that the provisions of this paragraph shall not be held to prejudice the titles to property heretofore acquired in good faith and for value and in accordance with the laws of the country in which the property is situated by nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers.

The provisions of this paragraph do not apply to such of the above-mentioned measures as have been taken by the German authorities in invaded or occupied territory, nor to such of the above-mentioned measures as have been taken by Germany or the German authorities since November 11, 1918, all of which shall be void.

2.

No claim or action shall be made or brought against any Allied or Associated Power or against any person acting on behalf of or under the direction of any legal authority or Department of the Government of such a Power by Germany or by any German national wherever resident in respect of any act or omission with regard to his property, rights or interests during the war or in preparation for the war. Similarly no claim or action shall be made or brought against any person in respect of any act or omission under or in accordance with the exceptional war measures, laws or regulations of any Allied or Associated Power.

3.

In Article 297 and this Annex the expression "exceptional war measures" includes measures of all kinds, legislative, administrative, judicial or others, that have been taken or will be taken hereafter with regard to enemy property, and which have had or will have the effect of removing from the proprietors the power of disposition over their property, though without affecting the ownership, such as measures of supervision, of compulsory administration, and of sequestration; or measures which have had or will have as an object the seizure of, the use of, or the interference with enemy assets, for whatsoever motive, under whatsoever form or in whatsoever place. Acts in the execution of these measures include all detentions, instructions, orders or decrees of Government departments or courts applying these measures to enemy property, as well as acts performed by any person connected with the administration or the supervision of enemy property, such as the

payment of debts, the collecting of credits, the payment of any costs, charges or expenses, or the collecting of fees.

Measures of transfer are those which have affected or will affect the ownership of enemy property by transferring it in whole or in part to a person other than the enemy owner, and without his consent, such as measures directing the sale, liquidation, or devolution of ownership in enemy property, or the cancelling of titles or securities.

4.

All property, rights and interests of German nationals within the territory of any Allied or Associated Power and the net proceeds of their sale, liquidation or other dealing therewith may be charged by that Allied or Associated Power in the first place with payment of amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of that Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights and interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested, in German territory, or debts owing to them by German nationals, and with payment of claims growing out of acts committed by the German Government or by any German authorities since July 31, 1914, and before that Allied or Associated Power entered into the war. The amount of such claims may be assessed by an arbitrator appointed by Mr. Gustave Ador, if he is willing, or, if no such appointment is made by him, by an arbitrator appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. They may be charged in the second place with payment of the amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of such Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights and interests in the territory of other enemy Powers, in so far as those claims are otherwise unsatisfied.

5.

Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 297, where immediately before the outbreak of war a company incorporated in an Allied or Associated State had rights in common with a company controlled by it and incorporated in Germany to the use of trade-marks in third countries, or enjoyed the use in common with such company of unique means of reproduction of goods or articles for sale in third countries, the former company shall alone have the right to use these trade-marks in third countries to the exclusion of the German company, and these unique means of reproduction shall be handed over to the former company, notwithstanding any action taken under German war legislation with regard to the latter company or its business, industrial property or shares. Nevertheless, the former company, if requested, shall deliver to the latter company derivative copies permitting the continuation of reproduction of articles for use within German territory.

6.

Up to the time when restitution is carried out in accordance with Article 297, Germany is responsible for the conservation of property, rights and interests of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, that have been subjected by her to exceptional war measures.

7.

Within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Allied or Associated Powers will specify the property, rights and interests over which they intend to exercise the right provided in Article 297, paragraph (f).

8.

The restitution provided in Article 297 will be carried out by order of the German Government or of the authorities which have been substituted for it. Detailed accounts of the action of administrators shall be furnished to the interested persons by the German authorities upon request, which may be made at any time after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

9.

Until completion of the liquidation provided for by Article 297, paragraph (b), the property, rights and interests of German nationals will continue to be subject to exceptional war measures that have been or will be taken with regard to them.

10.

Germany will, within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, deliver to each Allied or Associated Power all securities, certificates, deeds, or other documents of title held by its nationals and relating to property, rights or interests situated in the territory of that Allied or Associated Power, including any shares, stock, debentures, debenture stock, or other obligations of any company incorporated in accordance with the laws of that Power.

Germany will at any time on demand of any Allied or Associated Power furnish such information as may be required with regard to the property, rights and interests of German nationals within the territory of such Allied or Associated Power, or with regard to any transactions concerning such property, rights or interests effected since July 1, 1914.

11.

The expression "cash assets" includes all deposits or funds established before or after the declaration of war, as well as all assets coming from deposits, revenues, or profits collected by administrators, sequestrators, or others from funds placed on deposit or otherwise, but does not include sums belonging to the Allied or Associated Powers or to their component States, Provinces, or Municipalities.

12.

All investments wheresoever effected with the cash assets of nationals of the High Contracting Parties, including companies and associations in which such nationals were interested, by persons responsible for the administration of enemy properties or having control over such administration, or by order of such persons or of any authority whatsoever shall be annulled. These cash assets shall be accounted for irrespective of any such investment.

13.

Within one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty, or on demand at any time, Germany will deliver to the Allied and

Associated Powers all accounts, vouchers, records, documents and information of any kind which may be within German territory, and which concern the property, rights and interests of the nationals of those Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, that have been subjected to an exceptional war measure, or to a measure of transfer either in German territory or in territory occupied by Germany or her allies.

The controllers, supervisors, managers, administrators, sequestrators, liquidators and receivers shall be personally responsible under guarantee of the German Government for the immediate delivery in full of these accounts and documents, and for their accuracy.

14.

The provisions of Article 297 and this Annex relating to property, rights and interests in an enemy country, and the proceeds of the liquidation thereof, apply to debts, credits and accounts, Section III regulating only the method of payment.

In the settlement of matters provided for in Article 297 between Germany and the Allied or Associated States, their colonies or protectorates, or any one of the British Dominions or India, in respect of any of which a declaration shall not have been made that they adopt Section III, and between their respective nationals, the provisions of Section III respecting the currency in which payment is to be made and the rate of exchange and of interest shall apply unless the Government of the Allied or Associated Power concerned shall within six months of the coming into force of the present Treaty notify Germany that the said provisions are not to be applied.

15.

The provisions of Article 297 and this Annex apply to industrial, literary and artistic property which has been or will be dealt with in the liquidation of property, rights, interests, companies or businesses under war legislation by the Allied or Associated Powers, or in accordance with the stipulations of Article 297, paragraph (b).

SECTION V

CONTRACTS, PRESCRIPTIONS, JUDGMENTS

ARTICLE 299.

(a) Any contract concluded between enemies shall be regarded as having been dissolved as from the time when any two of the parties became enemies, except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder, and subject to the exceptions and special rules with regard to particular contracts or classes of contracts contained herein or in the Annex hereto.

(b) Any contract of which the execution shall be required

in the general interest, within six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, by the Allied or Associated Governments of which one of the parties is a national, shall be excepted from dissolution under this Article.

When the execution of the contract thus kept alive would, owing to the alteration of trade conditions, cause one of the parties substantial prejudice the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for by Section VI shall be empowered to grant to the prejudiced party equitable compensation.

(c) Having regard to the provisions of the constitution and law of the United States of America, of Brazil, and of Japan, neither the present Article, nor Article 300, nor the Annex hereto shall apply to contracts made between nationals of these States and German nationals; nor shall Article 305 apply to the United States of America or its nationals.

(d) The present Article and the Annex hereto shall not apply to contracts the parties to which became enemies by reason of one of them being an inhabitant of territory of which the sovereignty has been transferred, if such party shall acquire under the present Treaty the nationality of an Allied or Associated Power, nor shall they apply to contracts between nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers between whom trading has been prohibited by reason of one of the parties being in Allied or Associated territory in the occupation of the enemy.

(e) Nothing in the present Article or the Annex hereto shall be deemed to invalidate a transaction lawfully carried out in accordance with a contract between enemies if it has been carried out with the authority of one of the belligerent Powers.

ARTICLE 300.

(a) All periods of prescription, or limitation of right of action, whether they began to run before or after the outbreak of war, shall be treated in the territory of the High Contracting Parties, so far as regards relations between enemies, as having been suspended for the duration of the war. They shall begin to run again at earliest three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty. This provision shall apply to the period prescribed for the presentation of interest or dividend coupons or for the presentation for repayment of securities drawn for repayment or repayable on any other ground.

(b) Where, on account of failure to perform any act or comply with any formality during the war, measures of execution have been taken in German territory to the prejudice of a national of an Allied or Associated Power, the claim of such national shall, if the matter does not fall within the competence of the Courts of an Allied or Associated Power, be heard by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for by Section VI.

(c) Upon the application of any interested person who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall order the restoration of the rights which have been prejudiced by the measures of execution referred to in paragraph (b), wherever, having regard to the particular circumstances of the case, such restoration is equitable and possible.

If such restoration is inequitable or impossible the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal may grant compensation to the prejudiced party to be paid by the German Government.

(d) Where a contract between enemies has been dissolved by reason either of failure on the part of either party to carry out its provisions or of the exercise of a right stipulated in the contract itself the party prejudiced may apply to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal for relief. The Tribunal will have the powers provided for in paragraph (c).

(e) The provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this Article shall apply to the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who have been prejudiced by reason of measures referred to above taken by Germany in invaded or occupied territory, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

(f) Germany shall compensate any third party who may be prejudiced by any restitution or restoration ordered by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal under the provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this Article.

(g) As regards negotiable instruments, the period of three months provided under paragraph (a) shall commence as from the date on which any exceptional regulations applied in the territories of the interested Power with regard to negotiable instruments shall have definitely ceased to have force.

ARTICLE 301.

As between enemies no negotiable instrument made before the war shall be deemed to have become invalid by reason only of failure within the required time to present the instrument for acceptance or payment or to give notice of non-acceptance or non-payment to drawers or endorsers or to protest the instrument, nor by reason of failure to complete any formality during the war.

Where the period within which a negotiable instrument should have been presented for acceptance or for payment, or within which notice of non-acceptance or non-payment should have been given to the drawer or endorser, or within which the instrument should have been protested, has elapsed during the war, and the party who should have presented or protested the instrument or have given notice of non-acceptance or non-payment has failed to do so during the war, a period of not less than three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty shall be allowed within which presentation, notice of non-acceptance or non-payment or protest may be made.

ARTICLE 302.

Judgments given by the Courts of an Allied or Associated Power in all cases which, under the present Treaty, they are competent to decide, shall be recognised in Germany as final, and shall be enforced without it being necessary to have them declared executory.

If a judgment in respect of any dispute which may have arisen has been given during the war by a German Court against a national of an Allied or Associated State in a case in which he was not able to make his defence, the Allied and Associated national who has suffered prejudice thereby shall be entitled to recover compensation, to be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI.

At the instance of the national of the Allied or Associated Power the compensation above mentioned may, upon order to that effect of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, be effected where it is possible by replacing the parties in the situation which they occupied before the judgment was given by the German Court.

The above compensation may likewise be obtained before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by the nationals of Allied or

Associated Powers who have suffered prejudice by judicial measures taken in invaded or occupied territories, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

ARTICLE 303.

For the purpose of Sections III, IV, V and VII, the expression "during the war" means for each Allied or Associated Power the period between the commencement of the state of war between that Power and Germany and the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Annex

I. General Provisions.

1.

Within the meaning of Articles 299, 300 and 301, the parties to a contract shall be regarded as enemies when trading between them shall have been prohibited by or otherwise became unlawful under laws, orders or regulations to which one of those parties was subject. They shall be deemed to have become enemies from the date when such trading was prohibited or otherwise became unlawful.

2.

The following classes of contracts are excepted from dissolution by Article 299 and, without prejudice to the rights contained in Article 297 (b) of Section IV, remain in force subject to the application of domestic laws, orders or regulations made during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers and subject to the terms of the contracts :

(a) Contracts having for their object the transfer of estates or of real or personal property where the property therein had passed or the object had been delivered before the parties became enemies ;

(b) Leases and agreements for leases of land and houses ;

(c) Contracts of mortgage, pledge or lien ;

(d) Concessions concerning mines, quarries or deposits ;

(e) Contracts between individuals or companies and States, provinces, municipalities, or other similar juridical persons charged with administrative functions, and concessions granted by States, provinces, municipalities, or other similar juridical persons charged with administrative functions.

3.

If the provisions of a contract are in part dissolved under Article 299, the remaining provisions of that contract shall, subject to the same application of domestic laws as is provided for in paragraph 2, continue in force if they are severable, but where they are not severable the contract shall be deemed to have been dissolved in its entirety.

II. Provisions relating to certain classes of Contracts.

Stock Exchange and Commercial Exchange Contracts.

4.

(a) Rules made during the war by any recognised Exchange or Commercial Association providing for the closure of contracts entered into before the war by an enemy are confirmed by the High Contracting Parties, as also any action taken thereunder, provided :

- (i) That the contract was expressed to be made subject to the rules of the Exchange or Association in question ;
- (ii) That the rules applied to all persons concerned ;
- (iii) That the conditions attaching to the closure were fair and reasonable.

(b) The preceding paragraph shall not apply to rules made during the occupation by Exchanges or Commercial Associations in the districts occupied by the enemy.

(c) The closure of contracts relating to cotton "futures," which were closed as on July 31, 1914, under the decision of the Liverpool Cotton Association, is also confirmed.

Security.

5.

The sale of a security held for an unpaid debt owing by an enemy shall be deemed to have been valid irrespective of notice to the owner if the creditor acted in good faith and with reasonable care and prudence, and no claim by the debtor on the ground of such sale shall be admitted.

This stipulation shall not apply to any sale of securities effected by an enemy during the occupation in regions invaded or occupied by the enemy.

Negotiable Instruments.

6.

As regards Powers which adopt Section III and the Annex thereto the pecuniary obligations existing between enemies and resulting from the issue of negotiable instruments shall be adjusted in conformity with the said Annex by the instrumentality of the Clearing Offices, which shall assume the rights of the holder as regards the various remedies open to him.

7.

If a person has either before or during the war become liable upon a negotiable instrument in accordance with an undertaking given to him by a person who has subsequently become an enemy, the latter shall remain liable to indemnify the former in respect of his liability notwithstanding the outbreak of war.

III. Contracts of Insurance.

8.

Contracts of insurance entered into by any person with another person who subsequently became an enemy will be dealt with in accordance with the following paragraphs.

Fire Insurance.

9.

Contracts for the insurance of property against fire entered into by a person interested in such property with another person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy, or on account of the failure during the war and for a period of three months thereafter to perform his obligations under the contract, but they shall be dissolved at the date when the annual premium becomes payable for the first time after the expiration of a period of three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

A settlement shall be effected of unpaid premiums which became due during the war, or of claims for losses which occurred during the war.

10.

Where by administrative or legislative action an insurance against fire effected before the war has been transferred during the war from the original to another insurer, the transfer will be recognised and the liability of the original insurer will be deemed to have ceased as from the date of the transfer. The original insurer will, however, be entitled to receive on demand full information as to the terms of the transfer, and if it should appear that these terms were not equitable they shall be amended so far as may be necessary to render them equitable.

Furthermore, the insured shall, subject to the concurrence of the original insurer, be entitled to retransfer the contract to the original insurer as from the date of the demand.

Life Insurance.

11.

Contracts of life insurance entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy.

Any sum which during the war became due upon a contract deemed not to have been dissolved under the preceding provision shall be recoverable after the war with the addition of interest at 5 per cent. per annum from the date of its becoming due up to the day of payment.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums, or has become void from breach of the conditions of the contract, the assured or his representatives or the persons entitled shall have the right at any time within twelve months of the coming

into force of the present Treaty to claim from the insurer the surrender value of the policy at the date of its lapse or avoidance.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums the payment of which has been prevented by the enforcement of measures of war, the assured or his representative or the persons entitled shall have the right to restore the contract on payment of the premiums with interest at 5 per cent. per annum within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

12.

Any Allied or Associated Power may within three months of the coming into force of the present Treaty cancel all the contracts of insurance running between a German insurance company and its nationals under conditions which shall protect its nationals from any prejudice.

To this end the German insurance company will hand over to the Allied or Associated Government concerned the proportion of its assets attributable to the policies so cancelled and will be relieved from all liability in respect of such policies. The assets to be handed over shall be determined by an actuary appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

13.

Where contracts of life insurance have been entered into by a local branch of an insurance company established in a country which subsequently became an enemy country, the contract shall, in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary in the contract itself, be governed by the local law, but the insurer shall be entitled to demand from the insured or his representatives the refund of sums paid on claims made or enforced under measures taken during the war, if the making or enforcement of such claims was not in accordance with the terms of the contract itself or was not consistent with the laws or treaties existing at the time when it was entered into.

14.

In any case where by the law applicable to the contract the insurer remains bound by the contract notwithstanding the non-payment of premiums until notice is given to the insured of the termination of the contract, he shall be entitled where the giving of such notice was prevented by the war to recover the unpaid premiums with interest at 5 per cent. per annum from the insured.

15.

Insurance contracts shall be considered as contracts of life assurance for the purpose of paragraphs 11 to 14 when they depend on the probabilities of human life combined with the rate of interest for the calculation of the reciprocal engagements between the two parties.

Marine Insurance.

16.

Contracts of marine insurance, including time policies and voyage policies entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently

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became an enemy, shall be deemed to have been dissolved on his becoming an enemy, except in cases where the risk undertaken in the contract had attached before he became an enemy.

Where the risk had not attached money paid by way of premium or otherwise shall be recoverable from the insurer.

Where the risk had attached effect shall be given to the contract notwithstanding the party becoming an enemy, and sums due under the contract either by way of premiums or in respect of losses shall be recoverable after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

In the event of any agreement being come to for the payment of interest on sums due before the war to or by the nationals of States which have been at war and recovered after the war, such interest shall in the case of losses recoverable under contracts of marine insurance run from the expiration of a period of one year from the date of the loss.

17.

No contract of marine insurance with an insured person who subsequently became an enemy shall be deemed to cover losses due to belligerent action by the Power of which the insurer was a national or by the allies or associates of such Power.

18.

Where it is shown that a person who had before the war entered into a contract of marine insurance with an insurer who subsequently became an enemy entered after the outbreak of war into a new contract covering the same risk with an insurer who was not an enemy, the new contract shall be deemed to be substituted for the original contract as from the date when it was entered into, and the premiums payable shall be adjusted on the basis of the original insurer having remained liable on the contract only up till the time when the new contract was entered into.

Other Insurances.

19.

Contracts of insurance entered into before the war between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy, other than contracts dealt with in paragraphs 9 to 18, shall be treated in all respects on the same footing as contracts of fire insurance between the same persons would be dealt with under the said paragraphs.

Re-insurance.

20.

All treaties of re-insurance with a person who became an enemy shall be regarded as having been abrogated by the person becoming an enemy, but without prejudice in the case of life or marine risks which had attached before the war to the right to recover payment after the war for sums due in respect of such risks.

Nevertheless if, owing to invasion, it has been impossible for the

re-insured to find another re-insurer, the treaty shall remain in force until three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Where a re-insurance treaty becomes void under this paragraph, there shall be an adjustment of accounts between the parties in respect both of premiums paid and payable and of liabilities for losses in respect of life or marine risk which had attached before the war. In the case of risks other than those mentioned in paragraphs 11 to 18 the adjustment of accounts shall be made as at the date of the parties becoming enemies without regard to claims for losses which may have occurred since that date.

21.

The provisions of the preceding paragraph will extend equally to re-insurances existing at the date of the parties becoming enemies of particular risks undertaken by the insurer in a contract of insurance against any risks other than life or marine risks.

22.

Re-insurance of life risks effected by particular contracts and not under any general treaty remain in force.

The provisions of paragraph 12 apply to treaties of re-insurance of life insurance contracts in which enemy companies are the re-insurers.

23.

In case of a re-insurance effected before the war of a contract of marine insurance, the cession of a risk which had been ceded to the re-insurer shall, if it had attached before the outbreak of war, remain valid and effect be given to the contract notwithstanding the outbreak of war; sums due under the contract of re-insurance in respect either of premiums or of losses shall be recoverable after the war.

24.

The provisions of paragraphs 17 and 18 and the last part of paragraph 16 shall apply to contracts for the re-insurance of marine risks.

SECTION VI

MIXED ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

ARTICLE 304.

(a) Within three months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall be established between each of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Germany on the other hand. Each such Tribunal shall consist of three members. Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint one of these members. The President shall be chosen by agreement between the two Governments concerned.

In case of failure to reach agreement, the President of the Tribunal and two other persons, either of whom may in case of need take his place, shall be chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, or, until this is set up, by M. Gustave Ador if he is willing. These persons shall be nationals of Powers that have remained neutral during the war.

If any Government does not proceed within a period of one month in case there is a vacancy to appoint a member of the Tribunal, such member shall be chosen by the other Government from the two persons mentioned above other than the President.

The decision of the majority of the members of the Tribunal shall be the decision of the Tribunal.

(b) The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals established pursuant to paragraph (a) shall decide all questions within their competence under Sections III, IV, V and VII.

In addition, all questions, whatsoever their nature, relating to contracts concluded before the coming into force of the present Treaty between nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and German nationals shall be decided by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, always excepting questions which, under the laws of the Allied, Associated or Neutral Powers, are within the jurisdiction of the National Courts of those Powers. Such questions shall be decided by the National Courts in question, to the exclusion of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. The party who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power may nevertheless bring the case before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal if this is not prohibited by the laws of his country.

(c) If the number of cases justifies it, additional members shall be appointed and each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall sit in divisions. Each of these divisions will be constituted as above.

(d) Each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal will settle its own procedure except in so far as it is provided in the following Annex, and is empowered to award the sums to be paid by the loser in respect of the costs and expenses of the proceedings.

(e) Each Government will pay the remuneration of the member of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal appointed by it and of any agent whom it may appoint to represent it before the Tribunal. The remuneration of the President will be determined by special agreement between the Governments con-

cerned ; and this remuneration and the joint expenses of each Tribunal will be paid by the two Governments in equal moieties.

(f) The High Contracting Parties agree that their courts and authorities shall render to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals direct all the assistance in their power, particularly as regards transmitting notices and collecting evidence.

(g) The High Contracting Parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

Annex

1.

Should one of the members of the Tribunal either die, retire, or be unable for any reason whatever to discharge his functions, the same procedure will be followed for filling the vacancy as was followed for appointing him.

2.

The Tribunal may adopt such rules of procedure as shall be in accordance with justice and equity and decide the order and time at which each party must conclude its arguments, and may arrange all formalities required for dealing with the evidence.

3.

The agent and counsel of the parties on each side are authorised to present orally and in writing to the Tribunal arguments in support or in defence of each case.

4.

The Tribunal shall keep record of the questions and cases submitted and the proceedings thereon, with the dates of such proceedings.

5.

Each of the Powers concerned may appoint a secretary. These secretaries shall act together as joint secretaries of the Tribunal and shall be subject to its direction. The Tribunal may appoint and employ any other necessary officer or officers to assist in the performance of its duties.

6.

The Tribunal shall decide all questions and matters submitted upon such evidence and information as may be furnished by the parties concerned.

7.

Germany agrees to give the Tribunal all facilities and information required by it for carrying out its investigations.

8.

The language in which the proceedings shall be conducted shall, unless otherwise agreed, be English, French, Italian or Japanese, as may be determined by the Allied or Associated Power concerned.

9.

The place and time for the meetings of each Tribunal shall be determined by the President of the Tribunal.

ARTICLE 305.

Whenever a competent court has given or gives a decision in a case covered by Sections III, IV, V or VII, and such decision is inconsistent with the provisions of such Sections, the party who is prejudiced by the decision shall be entitled to obtain redress which shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. At the request of the national of an Allied or Associated Power, the redress may, whenever possible, be effected by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal directing the replacement of the parties in the position occupied by them before the judgment was given by the German court.

SECTION VII
INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

ARTICLE 306.

Subject to the stipulations of the present Treaty, rights of industrial, literary and artistic property, as such property is defined by the International Conventions of Paris and Berne, mentioned in Article 286, shall be re-established or restored, as from the coming into force of the present Treaty, in the territories of the High Contracting Parties, in favour of the persons entitled to the benefit of them at the moment when the state of war commenced or their legal representatives. Equally, rights which, except for the war, would have been acquired during the war in consequence of an application made for the protection of industrial property, or the publication of a literary or artistic work, shall be recognised and established in favour of those persons who would have been entitled thereto from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Nevertheless, all acts done by virtue of the special measures taken during the war under legislative, executive or administrative authority of any Allied or Associated Power in regard

to the rights of German nationals in industrial, literary or artistic property shall remain in force and shall continue to maintain their full effect.

No claim shall be made or action brought by Germany or German nationals in respect of the use during the war by the Government of any Allied or Associated Power, or by any persons acting on behalf or with the assent of such Government of any rights in industrial, literary or artistic property, nor in respect of the sale, offering for sale, or use of any products, articles or apparatus whatsoever to which such rights applied.

Unless the legislation of any one of the Allied or Associated Powers in force at the moment of the signature of the present Treaty otherwise directs, sums due or paid in virtue of any act or operation resulting from the execution of the special measures mentioned in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be dealt with in the same way as other sums due to German nationals are directed to be dealt with by the present Treaty; and sums produced by any special measures taken by the German Government in respect of rights in industrial, literary or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers shall be considered and treated in the same way as other debts due from German nationals.

Each of the Allied and Associated Powers reserves to itself the right to impose such limitations, conditions or restrictions on rights of industrial, literary or artistic property (with the exception of trade-marks) acquired before or during the war, or which may be subsequently acquired in accordance with its legislation, by German nationals, whether by granting licences, or by the working, or by preserving control over their exploitation, or in any other way, as may be considered necessary for national defence, or in the public interest, or for assuring the fair treatment by Germany of the rights of industrial, literary and artistic property held in German territory by its nationals, or for securing the due fulfilment of all the obligations undertaken by Germany in the present Treaty. As regards rights of industrial, literary and artistic property acquired after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the right so reserved by the Allied and Associated Powers shall only be exercised in cases where these limitations, conditions or restrictions may be considered necessary for national defence or in the public interest.

In the event of the application of the provisions of the preceding paragraph by any Allied or Associated Power, there shall be paid reasonable indemnities or royalties, which shall be dealt with in the same way as other sums due to German nationals are directed to be dealt with by the present Treaty.

Each of the Allied or Associated Powers reserves the right to treat as void and of no effect any transfer in whole or in part of or other dealing with rights of or in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property effected after August 1, 1914, or in the future, which would have the result of defeating the objects of the provisions of this Article.

The provisions of this Article shall not apply to rights in industrial, literary or artistic property which have been dealt with in the liquidation of businesses or companies under war legislation by the Allied or Associated Powers, or which may be so dealt with by virtue of Article 297, paragraph (b).

ARTICLE 307.

A minimum of one year after the coming into force of the present Treaty shall be accorded to the nationals of the High Contracting Parties, without extension fees or other penalty, in order to enable such persons to accomplish any act, fulfil any formality, pay any fees, and generally satisfy any obligation prescribed by the laws or regulations of the respective States relating to the obtaining, preserving, or opposing rights to, or in respect of, industrial property either acquired before August 1, 1914, or which, except for the war, might have been acquired since that date as a result of an application made before the war or during its continuance, but nothing in this Article shall give any right to reopen interference proceedings in the United States of America where a final hearing has taken place.

All rights in, or in respect of, such property which may have lapsed by reason of any failure to accomplish any act, fulfil any formality, or make any payment, shall revive, but subject in the case of patents and designs to the imposition of such conditions as each Allied or Associated Power may deem reasonably necessary for the protection of persons who have manufactured or made use of the subject-matter of such property while the rights had lapsed. Further, where rights to patents or designs belonging to German nationals are revived

under this Article, they shall be subject in respect of the grant of licences to the same provisions as would have been applicable to them during the war, as well as to all the provisions of the present Treaty.

The period from August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present Treaty shall be excluded in considering the time within which a patent should be worked or a trade-mark or design used, and it is further agreed that no patent, registered trade-mark or design in force on August 1, 1914, shall be subject to revocation or cancellation by reason only of the failure to work such patent or use such trade-mark or design for two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 308.

The rights of priority, provided by Article 4 of the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property of Paris, of March 20, 1883, revised at Washington in 1911 or by any other Convention or Statute, for the filing or registration of applications for patents or models of utility, and for the registration of trade-marks, designs and models which had not expired on August 1, 1914, and those which have arisen during the war, or would have arisen but for the war, shall be extended by each of the High Contracting Parties in favour of all nationals of the other High Contracting Parties for a period of six months after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Nevertheless, such extension shall in no way affect the right of any of the High Contracting Parties or of any person who before the coming into force of the present Treaty was *bonâ fide* in possession of any rights of industrial property conflicting with rights applied for by another who claims rights of priority in respect of them, to exercise such rights by itself or himself personally, or by such agents or licensees as derived their rights from it or him before the coming into force of the present Treaty; and such persons shall not be amenable to any action or other process of law in respect of infringement.

ARTICLE 309.

No action shall be brought and no claim made by persons residing or carrying on business within the territories of Germany on the one part and of the Allied or Associated Powers on the other, or persons who are nationals of such Powers respectively,

or by any one deriving title during the war from such persons, by reason of any action which has taken place within the territory of the other party between the date of the declaration of war and that of the coming into force of the present Treaty, which might constitute an infringement of the rights of industrial property or rights of literary and artistic property, either existing at any time during the war or revived under the provisions of Articles 307 and 308.

Equally, no action for infringement of industrial, literary or artistic property rights by such persons shall at any time be permissible in respect of the sale or offering for sale for a period of one year after the signature of the present Treaty in the territories of the Allied or Associated Powers on the one hand or Germany on the other, of products or articles manufactured, or of literary or artistic works published, during the period between the declaration of war and the signature of the present Treaty, or against those who have acquired and continue to use them. It is understood, nevertheless, that this provision shall not apply when the possessor of the rights was domiciled or had an industrial or commercial establishment in the districts occupied by Germany during the war.

This Article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

ARTICLE 310.

Licences in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property concluded before the war between nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers or persons residing in their territory or carrying on business therein, on the one part, and German nationals, on the other part, shall be considered as cancelled as from the date of the declaration of war between Germany and the Allied or Associated Power. But, in any case, the former beneficiary of a contract of this kind shall have the right, within a period of six months, after the coming into force of the present Treaty, to demand from the proprietor of the rights the grant of a new licence, the conditions of which, in default of agreement between the parties, shall be fixed by the duly qualified tribunal in the country under whose legislation the rights had been acquired, except in the case of licences held in respect of rights acquired under German law. In such cases the conditions shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral

Tribunal referred to in Section VI of this Part. The tribunal may, if necessary, fix also the amount which it may deem just should be paid by reason of the use of the rights during the war.

No licence in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property, granted under the special war legislation of any Allied or Associated Power, shall be affected by the continued existence of any licence entered into before the war, but shall remain valid and of full effect, and a licence so granted to the former beneficiary of a licence entered into before the war shall be considered as substituted for such licence.

Where sums have been paid during the war by virtue of a licence or agreement concluded before the war in respect of rights of industrial property or for the reproduction or the representation of literary, dramatic or artistic works, these sums shall be dealt with in the same manner as other debts or credits of German nationals, as provided by the present Treaty.

This Article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

ARTICLE 311.

The inhabitants of territories separated from Germany by virtue of the present Treaty shall, notwithstanding this separation and the change of nationality consequent thereon, continue to enjoy in Germany all the rights in industrial, literary and artistic property to which they were entitled under German legislation at the time of the separation.

Rights of industrial, literary and artistic property which are in force in the territories separated from Germany under the present Treaty at the moment of the separation of these territories from Germany, or which will be re-established or restored in accordance with the provisions of Article 306 of the present Treaty, shall be recognised by the State to which the said territory is transferred and shall remain in force in that territory for the same period of time given them under the German law.

SECTION VIII

SOCIAL AND STATE INSURANCE IN CEDED
TERRITORY

ARTICLE 312.

Without prejudice to the provisions contained in other Articles of the present Treaty the German Government undertakes to transfer to any Power to which German territory in Europe is ceded, and to any Power administering former German territory as a mandatory under Article 22 of Part I (League of Nations), such portion of the reserves accumulated by the Government of the German Empire or of German States, or by public or private organisations under their control, as is attributable to the carrying on of Social or State Insurance in such territory.

The Powers to which these funds are transferred must apply them to the performance of the obligations arising from such insurances.

The conditions of the transfer will be determined by special conventions to be concluded between the German Government and the Governments concerned.

In case these special conventions are not concluded in accordance with the above paragraph within three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the conditions of transfer shall in each case be referred to a Commission of five members, one of whom shall be appointed by the German Government, one by the other interested Government and three by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office from the nationals of other States. This Commission shall by a majority vote within three months after appointment adopt recommendations for submission to the Council of the League of Nations, and the decisions of the Council shall forthwith be accepted as final by Germany and the other Government concerned.

PART XI

AERIAL NAVIGATION

ARTICLE 313.

The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in the territory and territorial waters of Germany, and shall enjoy the same privileges as German aircraft, particularly in case of distress by land or sea.

ARTICLE 314.

The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall, while in transit to any foreign country whatever, enjoy the right of flying over the territory and territorial waters of Germany without landing, subject always to any regulations which may be made by Germany, and which shall be applicable equally to the aircraft of Germany and to those of the Allied and Associated countries.

ARTICLE 315.

All aerodromes in Germany open to national public traffic shall be open for the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers, and in any such aerodrome such aircraft shall be treated on a footing of equality with German aircraft as regards charges of every description, including charges for landing and accommodation.

ARTICLE 316.

Subject to the present provisions, the rights of passage, transit and landing, provided for in Articles 313, 314 and 315, are subject to the observance of such regulations as Germany may consider it necessary to enact, but such regulations shall be applied without distinction to German aircraft and to those of the Allied and Associated countries.

ARTICLE 317.

Certificates of nationality, airworthiness, or competency, and licences, issued or recognised as valid by any of the Allied or Associated Powers, shall be recognised in Germany as valid and as equivalent to the certificates and licences issued by Germany.

ARTICLE 318.

As regards internal commercial air traffic, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany most favoured nation treatment.

ARTICLE 319.

Germany undertakes to enforce the necessary measures to ensure that all German aircraft flying over her territory shall comply with the Rules as to lights and signals, Rules of the Air and Rules for Air Traffic on and in the neighbourhood of aerodromes, which have been laid down in the Convention relative to Aerial Navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 320.

The obligations imposed by the preceding provisions shall remain in force until January 1, 1923, unless before that date Germany shall have been admitted into the League of Nations or shall have been authorised, by consent of the Allied and Associated Powers, to adhere to the Convention relative to Aerial Navigation concluded between those Powers.

PART XII**PORTS, WATERWAYS AND RAILWAYS****SECTION I****GENERAL PROVISIONS****ARTICLE 321.**

Germany undertakes to grant freedom of transit through her territories on the routes most convenient for international transit, either by rail, navigable waterway, or canal, to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails coming from or going to the territories of any of the Allied and Associated Powers (whether contiguous or not); for this purpose the crossing of territorial waters shall be allowed. Such persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails shall not be subjected to any transit duty or to any undue delays or restrictions, and shall be entitled in Germany to national treatment as regards charges, facilities, and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all Customs or other similar duties.

All charges imposed on transport in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. No charge, facility or restriction shall depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or on the nationality of the ship or other means of transport on which any part of the through journey has been, or is to be, accomplished.

ARTICLE 322.

Germany undertakes neither to impose nor to maintain any control over transmigration traffic through her territories beyond measures necessary to ensure that passengers are *bonâ fide* in transit; nor to allow any shipping company or any other private body, corporation or person interested in the traffic to take any part whatever in, or to exercise any direct or indirect influence over, any administrative service that may be necessary for this purpose.

ARTICLE 323.

Germany undertakes to make no discrimination or preference, direct or indirect, in the duties, charges and prohibitions relating to importations into or exportations from her territories, or, subject to the special engagements contained in the present Treaty, in the charges and conditions of transport of goods or persons entering or leaving her territories, based on the frontier crossed; or on the kind, ownership or flag of the means of transport (including aircraft) employed; or on the original or immediate place of departure of the vessel, wagon or aircraft or other means of transport employed, or its ultimate or intermediate destination; or on the route of or places of transhipment on the journey; or on whether any port through which the goods are imported or exported is a German port or a port belonging to any foreign country or on whether the goods are imported or exported by sea, by land, or by air.

Germany particularly undertakes not to establish against the ports and vessels of any of the Allied and Associated Powers any surtax or any direct or indirect bounty for export or import by German ports or vessels, or by those of another Power, for example by means of combined tariffs. She further undertakes that persons or goods passing through a port or using a vessel of any of the Allied and Associated Powers shall not be sub-

jected to any formality or delay whatever to which such persons or goods would not be subjected if they passed through a German port or a port of any other Power, or used a German vessel or a vessel of any other Power.

ARTICLE 324.

All necessary administrative and technical measures shall be taken to shorten, as much as possible, the transmission of goods across the German frontiers and to ensure their forwarding and transport from such frontiers, irrespective of whether such goods are coming from or going to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers or are in transit from or to those territories, under the same material conditions in such matters as rapidity of carriage and care *en route* as are enjoyed by other goods of the same kind carried on German territory under similar conditions of transport.

In particular the transport of perishable goods shall be promptly and regularly carried out, and the customs formalities shall be effected in such a way as to allow the goods to be carried straight through by trains which make connection.

ARTICLE 325.

The seaports of the Allied and Associated Powers are entitled to all favours and to all reduced tariffs granted on German railways or navigable waterways for the benefit of German ports or of any port of another Power.

ARTICLE 326.

Germany may not refuse to participate in the tariffs or combinations of tariffs intended to secure for ports of any of the Allied and Associated Powers advantages similar to those granted by Germany to her own ports or the ports of any other Power.

SECTION II NAVIGATION

CHAPTER I FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION

ARTICLE 327.

The nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers as well as their vessels and property shall enjoy in all German ports and on the inland navigation routes of Germany the same

treatment in all respects as German nationals, vessels and property.

In particular the vessels of any one of the Allied or Associated Powers shall be entitled to transport goods of any description, and passengers, to or from any ports or places in German territory to which German vessels may have access, under conditions which shall not be more onerous than those applied in the case of national vessels ; they shall be treated on a footing of equality with national vessels as regards port and harbour facilities and charges of every description, including facilities for stationing, loading and unloading, and duties and charges of tonnage, harbour, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, and all analogous duties and charges of whatsoever nature, levied in the name of or for the profit of the Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind.

In the event of Germany granting a preferential régime to any of the Allied or Associated Powers or to any other foreign Powers, this régime shall be extended immediately and unconditionally to all the Allied and Associated Powers.

There shall be no impediment to the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising from prescriptions concerning customs, police, sanitation, emigration and immigration, and those relating to the import and export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not impede traffic unnecessarily.

CHAPTER II

FREE ZONES IN PORTS

ARTICLE 328.

The free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, shall be maintained. These free zones, and any other free zones which may be established in German territory by the present Treaty, shall be subject to the régime provided for in the following Articles.

Goods entering or leaving a free zone shall not be subjected to any import or export duty, other than those provided for in Article 330.

Vessels and goods entering a free zone may be subjected to

the charges established to cover expenses of administration, upkeep and improvement of the port, as well as to the charges for the use of various installations, provided that these charges shall be reasonable having regard to the expenditure incurred, and shall be levied in the conditions of equality provided for in Article 327.

Goods shall not be subjected to any other charge except a statistical duty which shall not exceed 1 per mille *ad valorem*, and which shall be devoted exclusively to defraying the expenses of compiling statements of the traffic in the port.

ARTICLE 329.

The facilities granted for the erection of warehouses, for packing and for unpacking goods, shall be in accordance with trade requirements for the time being. All goods allowed to be consumed in the free zone shall be exempt from duty, whether of excise or of any other description, apart from the statistical duty provided for in Article 328 above.

There shall be no discrimination in regard to any of the provisions of the present Article between persons belonging to different nationalities or between goods of different origin or destination.

ARTICLE 330.

Import duties may be levied on goods leaving the free zone for consumption in the country on the territory of which the port is situated. Conversely, export duties may be levied on goods coming from such country and brought into the free zone. These import and export duties shall be levied on the same basis and at the same rates as similar duties levied at the other Customs frontiers of the country concerned. On the other hand, Germany shall not levy, under any denomination, any import, export or transit duty on goods carried by land or water across her territory to or from the free zone from or to any other State.

Germany shall draw up the necessary regulations to secure and guarantee such freedom of transit over such railways and waterways in her territory as normally give access to the free zone.

CHAPTER III

CLAUSES RELATING TO THE ELBE, THE ODER, THE NIEMEN
(RUSSSTROM-MEMEL-NIEMEN) AND THE DANUBE(1) *General Clauses.*

ARTICLE 331.

The following rivers are declared international :

the Elbe (*Labe*) from its confluence with the Vltava (*Moldau*), and the Vltava (*Moldau*) from Prague ;
the Oder (*Odra*) from its confluence with the Oppa ;
the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*) from Grodno ;
the Danube from Ulm ;

and all navigable parts of these river systems which naturally provide more than one State with access to the sea, with or without transhipment from one vessel to another ; together with lateral canals and channels constructed either to duplicate or to improve naturally navigable sections of the specified river systems, or to connect two naturally navigable sections of the same river.

The same shall apply to the Rhine-Danube navigable waterway, should such a waterway be constructed under the conditions laid down in Article 353.

ARTICLE 332.

On the waterways declared to be international in the preceding Article, the nationals, property and flags of all Powers shall be treated on a footing of perfect equality, no distinction being made to the detriment of the nationals, property or flag of any Power between them and the nationals, property or flag of the riparian State itself or of the most favoured nation.

Nevertheless, German vessels shall not be entitled to carry passengers or goods by regular services between the ports of any Allied or Associated Power, without special authority from such Power.

ARTICLE 333.

Where such charges are not precluded by any existing conventions, charges varying on different sections of a river may be levied on vessels using the navigable channels or their approaches, provided that they are intended solely to cover equitably the cost of maintaining in a navigable condition,

or of improving, the river and its approaches, or to meet expenditure incurred in the interests of navigation. The schedule of such charges shall be calculated on the basis of such expenditure and shall be posted up in the ports. These charges shall be levied in such a manner as to render any detailed examination of cargoes unnecessary, except in cases of suspected fraud or contravention.

ARTICLE 334.

The transit of vessels, passengers and goods on these water-ways shall be effected in accordance with the general conditions prescribed for transit in Section I above.

When the two banks of an international river are within the same State goods in transit may be placed under seal or in the custody of Customs agents. When the river forms a frontier goods and passengers in transit shall be exempt from all Customs formalities ; the loading and unloading of goods, and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, shall only take place in the ports specified by the riparian State.

ARTICLE 335.

No dues of any kind other than those provided for in the present Part shall be levied along the course or at the mouth of these rivers.

This provision shall not prevent the fixing by the riparian States of Customs, local octroi or consumption duties, or the creation of reasonable and uniform charges levied in the ports, in accordance with public tariffs, for the use of cranes, elevators, quays, warehouses, etc.

ARTICLE 336.

In default of any special organisation for carrying out the works connected with the upkeep and improvement of the international portion of a navigable system, each riparian State shall be bound to take suitable measures to remove any obstacle or danger to navigation and to ensure the maintenance of good conditions of navigation.

If a State neglects to comply with this obligation any riparian State, or any State represented on the International Commission, if there is one, may appeal to the tribunal instituted for this purpose by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 337.

The same procedure shall be followed in the case of a riparian State undertaking any works of a nature to impede navigation in the international section. The tribunal mentioned in the preceding Article shall be entitled to enforce the suspension or suppression of such works, making due allowance in its decisions for all rights in connection with irrigation, water-power, fisheries, and other national interests, which, with the consent of all the riparian States or of all the States represented on the International Commission, if there is one, shall be given priority over the requirements of navigation.

Appeal to the tribunal of the League of Nations does not require the suspension of the works.

ARTICLE 338.

The régime set out in Articles 332 to 337 above shall be superseded by one to be laid down in a General Convention drawn up by the Allied and Associated Powers, and approved by the League of Nations, relating to the waterways recognised in such Convention as having an international character. This Convention shall apply in particular to the whole or part of the above-mentioned river systems of the Elbe (*Labe*), the Oder (*Odra*), the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*), and the Danube, and such other parts of these river systems as may be covered by a general definition.

Germany undertakes, in accordance with the provisions of Article 379, to adhere to the said General Convention as well as to all projects prepared in accordance with Article 343 below for the revision of existing international agreements and regulations.

ARTICLE 339.

Germany shall cede to the Allied and Associated Powers concerned, within a maximum period of three months from the date on which notification shall be given her, a proportion of the tugs and vessels remaining registered in the ports of the river systems referred to in Article 331 after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation. Germany shall in the same way cede material of all kinds necessary to the Allied and Associated Powers concerned for the utilisation of those river systems.

The number of the tugs and boats, and the amount of the

material so ceded, and their distribution, shall be determined by an arbitrator or arbitrators nominated by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned, and particularly to the shipping traffic during the five years preceding the war.

All craft so ceded shall be provided with their fittings and gear, shall be in a good state of repair and in condition to carry goods, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The cessions provided for in the present Article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the material ceded, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany ; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

(2) *Special Clauses relating to the Elbe, the Oder and the Niemen (Russstrom-Memel-Niemen).*

ARTICLE 340.

The Elbe (*Labe*) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise :

- 4 representatives of the German States bordering on the river ;
- 2 representatives of the Czecho-Slovak State ;
- 1 representative of Great Britain ;
- 1 representative of France ;
- 1 representative of Italy ;
- 1 representative of Belgium.

Whatever be the number of members present, each delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 341.

The Oder (*Odra*) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise :

- 1 representative of Poland ;
- 3 representatives of Prussia ;

1 representative of the Czechoslovak State ;
1 representative of Great Britain ;
1 representative of France ;
1 representative of Denmark ;
1 representative of Sweden.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 342.

On a request being made to the League of Nations by any riparian State, the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise one representative of each riparian State, and three representatives of other States specified by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 343.

The International Commissions referred to in Articles 340 and 341 shall meet within three months of the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty. The International Commission referred to in Article 342 shall meet within three months from the date of the request made by a riparian State. Each of these Commissions shall proceed immediately to prepare a project for the revision of the existing international agreements and regulations, drawn up in conformity with the General Convention referred to in Article 338, should such Convention have been already concluded. In the absence of such Convention, the project for revision shall be in conformity with the principles of Articles 332 to 337 above.

ARTICLE 344.

The projects referred to in the preceding Article shall, *inter alia* :

(a) designate the headquarters of the International Commission, and prescribe the manner in which its President is to be nominated ;

(b) specify the extent of the Commission's powers, particularly in regard to the execution of works of maintenance, control, and improvement on the river system, the financial

régime, the fixing and collection of charges, and regulations for navigation ;

(c) define the sections of the river or its tributaries to which the international régime shall be applied.

ARTICLE 345.

The international agreements and regulations at present governing the navigation of the Elbe (*Labe*), the Oder (*Odra*), and the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*) shall be provisionally maintained in force until the ratification of the above-mentioned projects. Nevertheless, in all cases where such agreements and regulations in force are in conflict with the provisions of Articles 332 to 337 above, or of the General Convention to be concluded, the latter provisions shall prevail.

(3) *Special Clauses relating to the Danube.*

ARTICLE 346.

The European Commission of the Danube reassumes the powers it possessed before the war. Nevertheless, as a provisional measure, only representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Roumania shall constitute this Commission.

ARTICLE 347.

From the point where the competence of the European Commission ceases, the Danube system referred to in Article 331 shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission composed as follows :

Two representatives of German riparian States ;

One representative of each other riparian State ;

One representative of each non-riparian State represented in the future on the European Commission of the Danube.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 348.

The International Commission provided for in the preceding Article shall meet as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and shall undertake provisionally the administration of the river in conformity with the provisions of

Articles 332 to 337, until such time as a definitive statute regarding the Danube is concluded by the Powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 349.

Germany agrees to accept the régime which shall be laid down for the Danube by a Conference of the Powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers, which shall meet within one year after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and at which German representatives may be present.

ARTICLE 350.

The mandate given by Article 57 of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, to Austria-Hungary, and transferred by her to Hungary, to carry out works at the Iron Gates, is abrogated. The Commission entrusted with the administration of this part of the river shall lay down provisions for the settlement of accounts subject to the financial provisions of the present Treaty. Charges which may be necessary shall in no case be levied by Hungary.

ARTICLE 351.

Should the Czecho-Slovak State, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or Roumania, with the authorisation of or under mandate from the International Commission, undertake maintenance, improvement, weir, or other works on a part of the river system which forms a frontier, these States shall enjoy on the opposite bank, and also on the part of the bed which is outside their territory, all necessary facilities for the survey, execution and maintenance of such works.

ARTICLE 352.

Germany shall be obliged to make to the European Commission of the Danube all restitutions, reparations and indemnities for damages inflicted on the Commission during the war.

ARTICLE 353.

Should a deep-draught Rhine-Danube navigable waterway be constructed, Germany undertakes to apply thereto the régime prescribed in Articles 332 to 338.

CHAPTER IV

CLAUSES RELATING TO THE RHINE AND THE MOSELLE
ARTICLE 354.

As from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Convention of Mannheim of October 17, 1868, together with the Final Protocol thereof, shall continue to govern navigation on the Rhine, subject to the conditions hereinafter laid down.

In the event of any provisions of the said Convention being in conflict with those laid down by the General Convention referred to in Article 338 (which shall apply to the Rhine) the provisions of the General Convention shall prevail.

Within a maximum period of six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Central Commission referred to in Article 355 shall meet to draw up a project of revision of the Convention of Mannheim. This project shall be drawn up in harmony with the provisions of the General Convention referred to above, should this have been concluded by that time, and shall be submitted to the Powers represented on the Central Commission. Germany hereby agrees to adhere to the project so drawn up.

Further, the modifications set out in the following Articles shall immediately be made in the Convention of Mannheim.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve to themselves the right to arrive at an understanding in this connection with Holland, and Germany hereby agrees to accede if required to any such understanding.

ARTICLE 355.

The Central Commission provided for in the Convention of Mannheim shall consist of nineteen members, viz. :

2 representatives of the Netherlands ;

2 representatives of Switzerland ;

4 representatives of German riparian States ;

4 representatives of France, which in addition shall appoint the President of the Commission ;

2 representatives of Great Britain ;

2 representatives of Italy ;

2 representatives of Belgium.

The headquarters of the Central Commission shall be at Strasburg.

Whatever be the number of members present, each Delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 356.

Vessels of all nations, and their cargoes, shall have the same rights and privileges as those which are granted to vessels belonging to the Rhine navigation, and to their cargoes.

None of the provisions contained in Articles 15 to 20 and 26 of the above-mentioned Convention of Mannheim, in Article 4 of the Final Protocol thereof, or in later Conventions, shall impede the free navigation of vessels and crews of all nations on the Rhine and on waterways to which such Conventions apply, subject to compliance with the regulations concerning pilotage and other police measures drawn up by the Central Commission.

The provisions of Article 22 of the Convention of Mannheim and of Article 5 of the Final Protocol thereof shall be applied only to vessels registered on the Rhine. The Central Commission shall decide on the steps to be taken to ensure that other vessels satisfy the conditions of the general regulations applying to navigation on the Rhine.

ARTICLE 357.

Within a maximum period of three months from the date on which notification shall be given Germany shall cede to France tugs and vessels, from among those remaining registered in German Rhine ports after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation, or shares in German Rhine navigation companies.

When vessels and tugs are ceded, such vessels and tugs, together with their fittings and gear, shall be in good state of repair, shall be in condition to carry on commercial traffic on the Rhine, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The same procedure shall be followed in the matter of the cession by Germany to France of :

- (1) the installations, berthing and anchorage accommoda-

tion, platforms, docks, warehouses, plant, etc., which German subjects or German companies owned on August 1, 1914, in the port of Rotterdam, and

(2) the shares or interests which Germany or German nationals possessed in such installations at the same date.

The amount and specifications of such cessions shall be determined within one year of the coming into force of the present Treaty by an arbitrator or arbitrators appointed by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned.

The cessions provided for in the present Article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators mentioned above, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the ceded material and installations, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

ARTICLE 358.

Subject to the obligation to comply with the provisions of the Convention of Mannheim or of the Convention which may be substituted therefor, and to the stipulations of the present Treaty, France shall have on the whole course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of the French frontiers:

(a) the right to take water from the Rhine to feed navigation and irrigation canals (constructed or to be constructed) or for any other purpose, and to execute on the German bank all works necessary for the exercise of this right;

(b) the exclusive right to the power derived from works of regulation on the river, subject to the payment to Germany of the value of half the power actually produced, this payment, which will take into account the cost of the works necessary for producing the power, being made either in money or in power and in default of agreement being determined by arbitration. For this purpose France alone shall have the right to carry out in this part of the river all works of regulation (weirs or other works) which she may consider necessary for the production of power.

Similarly, the right of taking water from the Rhine is accorded to Belgium to feed the Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway provided for below.

The exercise of the rights mentioned under (a) and (b) of the present Article shall not interfere with navigability nor reduce the facilities for navigation, either in the bed of the Rhine or in the derivations which may be substituted therefor, nor shall it involve any increase in the tolls formerly levied under the Convention in force. All proposed schemes shall be laid before the Central Commission in order that that Commission may assure itself that these conditions are complied with.

To ensure the proper and faithful execution of the provisions contained in (a) and (b) above, Germany :

(i) binds herself not to undertake or to allow the construction of any lateral canal or any derivation on the right bank of the river opposite the French frontiers ;

(ii) recognises the possession by France of the right of support on and the right of way over all lands situated on the right bank which may be required in order to survey, to build, and to operate weirs which France, with the consent of the Central Commission, may subsequently decide to establish. In accordance with such consent, France shall be entitled to decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites, and she shall be permitted to occupy such lands after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment by her to Germany of indemnities of which the total amount shall be fixed by the Central Commission. Germany shall make it her business to indemnify the proprietors whose property will be burdened with such servitudes or permanently occupied by the works.

Should Switzerland so demand, and if the Central Commission approves, the same rights shall be accorded to Switzerland for the part of the river forming her frontier with other riparian States ;

(iii) shall hand over to the French Government, during the month following the coming into force of the present Treaty, all projects, designs, drafts of concessions and of specifications concerning the regulation of the Rhine for any purpose whatever which have been drawn up or received by the Governments of Alsace-Lorraine or of the Grand Duchy of Baden.

ARTICLE 359.

Subject to the preceding provisions, no works shall be carried out in the bed or on either bank of the Rhine where it forms the boundary of France and Germany without the previous approval of the Central Commission or of its agents.

ARTICLE 360.

France reserves the option of substituting herself as regards the rights and obligations resulting from agreements arrived at between the Government of Alsace-Lorraine and the Grand Duchy of Baden concerning the works to be carried out on the Rhine : she may also denounce such agreements within a term of five years dating from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

France shall also have the option of causing works to be carried out which may be recognised as necessary by the Central Commission for the upkeep or improvement of the navigability of the Rhine above Mannheim.

ARTICLE 361.

Should Belgium within a period of 25 years from the coming into force of the present Treaty decide to create a deep-draught Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway, in the region of Ruhrtort, Germany shall be bound to construct, in accordance with plans to be communicated to her by the Belgian Government, after agreement with the Central Commission, the portion of this navigable waterway situated within her territory.

The Belgian Government shall, for this purpose, have the right to carry out on the ground all necessary surveys.

Should Germany fail to carry out all or part of these works, the Central Commission shall be entitled to carry them out instead ; and, for this purpose, the Commission may decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites and occupy the ground after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment of indemnities to be fixed by it and paid by Germany.

This navigable waterway shall be placed under the same administrative régime as the Rhine itself, and the division of the cost of initial construction, including the above indemnities, among the States crossed thereby shall be made by the Central Commission.

ARTICLE 362.

Germany hereby agrees to offer no objection to any proposals of the Central Rhine Commission for extending its jurisdiction :

(1) to the Moselle below the Franco-Luxemburg frontier down to the Rhine, subject to the consent of Luxemburg ;

(2) to the Rhine above Basle up to the Lake of Constance, subject to the consent of Switzerland ;

(3) to the lateral canals and channels which may be established either to duplicate or to improve naturally navigable sections of the Rhine or the Moselle, or to connect two naturally navigable sections of these rivers, and also any other parts of the Rhine river system which may be covered by the General Convention provided for in Article 338 above.

CHAPTER V**CLAUSES GIVING TO THE CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE THE
USE OF NORTHERN PORTS****ARTICLE 363.**

In the ports of Hamburg and Stettin Germany shall lease to the Czecho-Slovak State, for a period of 99 years, areas which shall be placed under the general régime of free zones and shall be used for the direct transit of goods coming from or going to that State.

ARTICLE 364.

The delimitation of these areas, and their equipment, their exploitation, and in general all conditions for their utilisation, including the amount of the rental, shall be decided by a Commission consisting of one delegate of Germany, one delegate of the Czecho-Slovak State and one delegate of Great Britain. These conditions shall be susceptible of revision every ten years in the same manner.

Germany declares in advance that she will adhere to the decisions so taken.

SECTION III

RAILWAYS

CHAPTER I

CLAUSES RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT

ARTICLE 365.

Goods coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, and going to Germany, or in transit through Germany from or to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, shall enjoy on the German railways as regards charges to be collected (rebates and drawbacks being taken into account), facilities, and all other matters, the most favourable treatment applied to goods of the same kind carried on any German lines, either in internal traffic, or for export, import or in transit, under similar conditions of transport, for example as regards length of route. The same rule shall be applied, on the request of one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers, to goods specially designated by such Power or Powers coming from Germany and going to their territories.

International tariffs established in accordance with the rates referred to in the preceding paragraph and involving through way-bills shall be established when one of the Allied and Associated Powers shall require it from Germany.

ARTICLE 366.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall renew, in so far as concerns them and under the reserves indicated in the second paragraph of the present Article, the conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on October 14, 1890, September 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, June 16, 1898, and September 19, 1906, regarding the transportation of goods by rail.

If within five years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty a new convention for the transportation of passengers, luggage and goods by rail shall have been concluded to replace the Berne Convention of October 14, 1890, and the subsequent additions referred to above, this new convention and the supplementary provisions for international

transport by rail which may be based on it shall bind Germany, even if she shall have refused to take part in the preparation of the convention or to subscribe to it. Until a new convention shall have been concluded, Germany shall conform to the provisions of the Berne Convention and the subsequent additions referred to above, and to the current supplementary provisions.

ARTICLE 367.

Germany shall be bound to co-operate in the establishment of through ticket services (for passengers and their luggage) which shall be required by any of the Allied and Associated Powers to ensure their communication by rail with each other and with all other countries by transit across the territories of Germany ; in particular Germany shall, for this purpose, accept trains and carriages coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers and shall forward them with a speed at least equal to that of her best long-distance trains on the same lines. The rates applicable to such through services shall not in any case be higher than the rates collected on German internal services for the same distance, under the same conditions of speed and comfort.

The tariffs applicable under the same conditions of speed and comfort to the transportation of emigrants going to or coming from ports of the Allied and Associated Powers and using the German railways shall not be at a higher kilometric rate than the most favourable tariffs (drawbacks and rebates being taken into account) enjoyed on the said railways by emigrants going to or coming from any other ports.

ARTICLE 368.

Germany shall not apply specially to such through services, or to the transportation of emigrants going to or coming from the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers, any technical, fiscal or administrative measures, such as measures of customs examination, general police, sanitary police, and control, the result of which would be to impede or delay such services.

ARTICLE 369.

In case of transport partly by rail and partly by internal navigation, with or without through way-bill, the preceding Articles shall apply to the part of the journey performed by rail.

CHAPTER II**ROLLING STOCK****ARTICLE 370.**

Germany undertakes that German wagons shall be fitted with apparatus allowing :

(1) of their inclusion in goods trains on the lines of such of the Allied and Associated Powers as are parties to the Berne Convention of May 15, 1886, as modified on May 18, 1907, without hampering the action of the continuous brake which may be adopted in such countries within ten years of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and

(2) of the acceptance of wagons of such countries in all goods trains on the German lines.

The rolling stock of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy on the German lines the same treatment as German rolling stock as regards movement, upkeep and repairs.

CHAPTER III**CESSIONS OF RAILWAY LINES****ARTICLE 371.**

Subject to any special provisions concerning the cession of ports, waterways and railways situated in the territories over which Germany abandons her sovereignty, and to the financial conditions relating to the concessionnaires and the pensioning of the personnel, the cession of railways will take place under the following conditions :

(1) The works and installations of all the railroads shall be handed over complete and in good condition.

(2) When a railway system possessing its own rolling stock is handed over in its entirety by Germany to one of the Allied and Associated Powers, such stock shall be handed over complete, in accordance with the last inventory before November 11, 1918, and in a normal state of upkeep.

(3) As regards lines without any special rolling stock, Commissions of experts designated by the Allied and Associated Powers, on which Germany shall be represented, shall

fix the proportion of the stock existing on the system to which those lines belong to be handed over. These Commissions shall have regard to the amount of the material registered on these lines in the last inventory before November 11, 1918, the length of track (sidings included), and the nature and amount of the traffic. These Commissions shall also specify the locomotives, carriages and wagons to be handed over in each case ; they shall decide upon the conditions of their acceptance, and shall make the provisional arrangements necessary to ensure their repair in German workshops.

(4) Stocks of stores, fittings and plant shall be handed over under the same conditions as the rolling stock.

The provisions of paragraphs (3) and (4) above shall be applied to the lines of former Russian Poland converted by Germany to the German gauge, such lines being regarded as detached from the Prussian State System.

CHAPTER IV

PROVISIONS RELATING TO CERTAIN RAILWAY LINES

ARTICLE 372.

When as a result of the fixing of new frontiers a railway connection between two parts of the same country crosses another country, or a branch line from one country has its terminus in another, the conditions of working, if not specifically provided for in the present Treaty, shall be laid down in a convention between the railway administrations concerned. If the administrations cannot come to an agreement as to the terms of such convention the points of difference shall be decided by commissions of experts composed as provided in the preceding article.

ARTICLE 373.

Within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Czecho-Slovak State may require the construction of a railway line in German territory between the stations of Schlauney and Nachod. The cost of construction shall be borne by the Czecho-Slovak State.

ARTICLE 374.

Germany undertakes to accept, within ten years of the coming into force of the present Treaty, on request being made

by the Swiss Government after agreement with the Italian Government, the denunciation of the International Convention of October 13, 1909, relative to the St. Gothard railway. In the absence of agreement as to the conditions of such denunciation, Germany hereby agrees to accept the decision of an arbitrator designated by the United States of America.

CHAPTER V

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 375.

Germany shall carry out the instructions given her, in regard to transport, by an authorised body acting on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers :

(1) for the carriage of troops under the provisions of the present Treaty, and of material, ammunition and supplies for army use,

(2) as a temporary measure, for the transportation of supplies for certain regions, as well as for the restoration, as rapidly as possible, of the normal conditions of transport, and for the organisation of postal and telegraphic services.

SECTION IV

DISPUTES AND REVISION OF PERMANENT CLAUSES

ARTICLE 376.

Disputes which may arise between interested Powers with regard to the interpretation and application of the preceding Articles shall be settled as provided by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 377.

At any time the League of Nations may recommend the revision of such of these Articles as relate to a permanent administrative régime.

ARTICLE 378.

The stipulations in Articles 321 to 330, 332, 365, and 367 to 369 shall be subject to revision by the Council of the League of Nations at any time after five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Failing such revision, no Allied or Associated Power can claim after the expiration of the above period of five years the benefit of any of the stipulations in the Articles enumerated above on behalf of any portion of its territories in which reciprocity is not accorded in respect of such stipulations. The period of five years during which reciprocity cannot be demanded may be prolonged by the Council of the League of Nations.

SECTION V SPECIAL PROVISION

ARTICLE 379.

Without prejudice to the special obligations imposed on her by the present Treaty for the benefit of the Allied and Associated Powers, Germany undertakes to adhere to any General Conventions regarding the international régime of transit, waterways, ports or railways which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers, with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

SECTION VI CLAUSES RELATING TO THE KIEL CANAL

ARTICLE 380.

The Kiel Canal and its approaches shall be maintained free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality.

ARTICLE 381.

The nationals, property and vessels of all Powers shall, in respect of charges, facilities, and in all other respects, be treated on a footing of perfect equality in the use of the Canal, no distinction being made to the detriment of nationals, property and vessels of any Power between them and the nationals, property and vessels of Germany or of the most favoured nation.

No impediment shall be placed on the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising out of police, customs, sanitary, emigration or immigration regulations and those relating to the import or export of prohibited goods. Such

regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not unnecessarily impede traffic.

ARTICLE 382.

Only such charges may be levied on vessels using the Canal or its approaches as are intended to cover in an equitable manner the cost of maintaining in a navigable condition, or of improving, the Canal or its approaches, or to meet expenses incurred in the interests of navigation. The schedule of such charges shall be calculated on the basis of such expenses, and shall be posted up in the ports.

These charges shall be levied in such a manner as to render any detailed examination of cargoes unnecessary, except in the case of suspected fraud or contravention.

ARTICLE 383.

Goods in transit may be placed under seal or in the custody of customs agents ; the loading and unloading of goods, and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, shall only take place in the ports specified by Germany.

ARTICLE 384.

No charges of any kind other than those provided for in the present Treaty shall be levied along the course or at the approaches of the Kiel Canal.

ARTICLE 385.

Germany shall be bound to take suitable measures to remove any obstacle or danger to navigation, and to ensure the maintenance of good conditions of navigation. She shall not undertake any works of a nature to impede navigation on the Canal or its approaches.

ARTICLE 386.

In the event of violation of any of the conditions of Articles 380 to 386, or of disputes as to the interpretation of these Articles, any interested Power can appeal to the jurisdiction instituted for the purpose by the League of Nations.

In order to avoid reference of small questions to the League of Nations, Germany will establish a local authority at Kiel qualified to deal with disputes in the first instance and to give satisfaction so far as possible to complaints which may be presented through the consular representatives of the interested Powers.

PART XIII

LABOUR

SECTION I

ORGANISATION OF LABOUR

Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures;

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

CHAPTER I

ORGANISATION

ARTICLE 387.

A permanent organisation is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble.

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be the original Members of this organisation, and hereafter member-

ship of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said organisation.

ARTICLE 388.

The permanent organisation shall consist of :

(1) a General Conference of Representatives of the Members, and

(2) an International Labour Office controlled by the Governing Body described in Article 393.

ARTICLE 389.

The meetings of the General Conference of Representatives of the Members shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four Representatives of each of the Members, of whom two shall be Government Delegates and the two others shall be Delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the Members.

Each Delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

The Members undertake to nominate non-Government Delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.

Advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the Delegate whom they accompany and by the special authorisation of the President of the Conference, and may not vote.

A Delegate may by notice in writing addressed to the President appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The names of the Delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labour Office by the Government of each of the Members.

The credentials of Delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present, refuse to admit any Delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with this Article.

ARTICLE 390.

Every Delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the Conference.

If one of the Members fails to nominate one of the non-Government Delegates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-Government Delegate shall be allowed to sit and speak at the Conference, but not to vote.

If in accordance with Article 389 the Conference refuses admission to a Delegate of one of the Members, the provisions of the present Article shall apply as if that Delegate had not been nominated.

ARTICLE 391.

The meetings of the Conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the Conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present.

ARTICLE 392.

The International Labour Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organisation of the League.

ARTICLE 393.

The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a Governing Body consisting of twenty-four persons, appointed in accordance with the following provisions :

The Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall be constituted as follows :

Twelve persons representing the Governments ;

Six persons elected by the Delegates to the Conference representing the employers ;

Six persons elected by the Delegates to the Conference representing the workers.

Of the twelve persons representing the Governments eight shall be nominated by the Members which are of the chief industrial importance, and four shall be nominated by the Members selected for the purpose by the Government Delegates to the Conference, excluding the Delegates of the eight Members mentioned above.

Any questions as to which are the Members of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the Council of the League of Nations.

The period of office of the Members of the Governing Body will be three years. The method of filling vacancies and other similar questions may be determined by the Governing Body subject to the approval of the Conference.

The Governing Body shall, from time to time, elect one of its members to act as its Chairman, shall regulate its own procedure and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least ten members of the Governing Body.

ARTICLE 394.

There shall be a Director of the International Labour Office, who shall be appointed by the Governing Body, and, subject to the instructions of the Governing Body, shall be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labour Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him.

The Director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the Governing Body.

ARTICLE 395.

The staff of the International Labour Office shall be appointed by the Director, who shall, so far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these persons shall be women.

ARTICLE 396.

The functions of the International Labour Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the Conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish in French and English, and in such other languages as the Governing Body may think desirable,

a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this Article, it shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the Conference.

ARTICLE 397.

The Government Departments of any of the Members which deal with questions of industry and employment may communicate directly with the Director through the Representative of their Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, or, failing any such Representative, through such other qualified official as the Government may nominate for the purpose.

ARTICLE 398.

The International Labour Office shall be entitled to the assistance of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given.

ARTICLE 399.

Each of the Members will pay the travelling and subsistence expenses of its Delegates and their advisers and of its Representatives attending the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body, as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Labour Office and of the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body shall be paid to the Director by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the League.

The Director shall be responsible to the Secretary-General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this Article.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE

ARTICLE 400.

The agenda for all meetings of the Conference will be settled by the Governing Body, who shall consider any suggestion as to the agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the Members or by any representative organisation recognised for the purpose of Article 389.

ARTICLE 401.

The Director shall act as the Secretary of the Conference, and shall transmit the agenda so as to reach the Members four months before the meeting of the Conference, and, through them, the non-Government Delegates when appointed.

ARTICLE 402.

Any of the Governments of the Members may formally object to the inclusion of any item or items in the agenda. The grounds for such objection shall be set forth in a reasoned statement addressed to the Director, who shall circulate it to all the Members of the Permanent Organisation.

Items to which such objection has been made shall not, however, be excluded from the agenda, if at the Conference a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present is in favour of considering them.

If the Conference decides (otherwise than under the preceding paragraph) by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present that any subject shall be considered by the Conference, that subject shall be included in the agenda for the following meeting.

ARTICLE 403.

The Conference shall regulate its own procedure, shall elect its own President, and may appoint committees to consider and report on any matter.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Part of the present Treaty, all matters shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast by the Delegates present.

The voting is void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of the Delegates attending the Conference.

ARTICLE 404.

The Conference may add to any committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote.

ARTICLE 405.

When the Conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the Conference to determine whether these proposals shall take the form : (a) of a recommendation to be submitted to the Members for consideration with a view to effect being given

to it by national legislation or otherwise, or (b) of a draft international convention for ratification by the Members.

In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the Conference.

In framing any recommendation or draft convention of general application the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries.

A copy of the recommendation or draft convention shall be authenticated by the signature of the President of the Conference and of the Director and shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General will communicate a certified copy of the recommendation or draft convention to each of the Members.

Each of the Members undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the closing of the session of the Conference, or if it is impossible owing to exceptional circumstances to do so within the period of one year, then at the earliest practicable moment and in no case later than eighteen months from the closing of the session of the Conference, bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action.

In the case of a recommendation, the Members will inform the Secretary-General of the action taken.

In the case of a draft convention, the Member will, if it obtains the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, communicate the formal ratification of the convention to the Secretary-General and will take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such convention.

If on a recommendation no legislative or other action is taken to make a recommendation effective, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the Member.

In the case of a federal State, the power of which to enter into conventions on labour matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of that Government to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this Article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case.

The above Article shall be interpreted in accordance with the following principle :

In no case shall any Member be asked or required, as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the Conference, to lessen the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned.

ARTICLE 406.

Any convention so ratified shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, but shall only be binding upon the Members which ratify it.

ARTICLE 407.

If any convention coming before the Conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present, it shall nevertheless be within the right of any of the Members of the Permanent Organisation to agree to such convention among themselves.

Any convention so agreed to shall be communicated by the Governments concerned to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall register it.

ARTICLE 408.

Each of the Members agrees to make an annual report to the International Labour Office on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of conventions to which it is a party. These reports shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the Governing Body may request. The Director shall lay a summary of these reports before the next meeting of the Conference.

ARTICLE 409.

In the event of any representation being made to the International Labour Office by an industrial association of employers or of workers that any of the Members has failed to

secure in any respect the effective observance within its jurisdiction of any convention to which it is a party, the Governing Body may communicate this representation to the Government against which it is made and may invite that Government to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit.

ARTICLE 410.

If no statement is received within a reasonable time from the Government in question, or if the statement when received is not deemed to be satisfactory by the Governing Body, the latter shall have the right to publish the representation and the statement, if any, made in reply to it.

ARTICLE 411.

Any of the Members shall have the right to file a complaint with the International Labour Office if it is not satisfied that any other Member is securing the effective observance of any convention which both have ratified in accordance with the foregoing Articles.

The Governing Body may, if it thinks fit, before referring such a complaint to a Commission of Enquiry, as hereinafter provided for, communicate with the Government in question in the manner described in Article 409.

If the Governing Body does not think it necessary to communicate the complaint to the Government in question, or if, when they have made such communication, no statement in reply has been received within a reasonable time which the Governing Body considers to be satisfactory, the Governing Body may apply for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to consider the complaint and to report thereon.

The Governing Body may adopt the same procedure either of its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a Delegate to the Conference.

When any matter arising out of Articles 410 or 411 is being considered by the Governing Body, the Government in question shall, if not already represented thereon, be entitled to send a representative to take part in the proceedings of the Governing Body while the matter is under consideration. Adequate notice of the date on which the matter will be considered shall be given to the Government in question.

ARTICLE 412.

The Commission of Enquiry shall be constituted in accordance with the following provisions :

Each of the Members agrees to nominate within six months of the date on which the present Treaty comes into force three persons of industrial experience, of whom one shall be a representative of employers, one a representative of workers, and one a person of independent standing, who shall together form a panel from which the Members of the Commission of Enquiry shall be drawn.

The qualifications of the persons so nominated shall be subject to scrutiny by the Governing Body, which may by two-thirds of the votes cast by the representatives present refuse to accept the nomination of any person whose qualifications do not in its opinion comply with the requirements of the present Article.

Upon the application of the Governing Body, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall nominate three persons, one from each section of this panel, to constitute the Commission of Enquiry, and shall designate one of them as the President of the Commission. None of these three persons shall be a person nominated to the panel by any Member directly concerned in the complaint.

ARTICLE 413.

The Members agree that, in the event of the reference of a complaint to a Commission of Enquiry under Article 411, they will each, whether directly concerned in the complaint or not, place at the disposal of the Commission all the information in their possession which bears upon the subject-matter of the complaint.

ARTICLE 414.

When the Commission of Enquiry has fully considered the complaint, it shall prepare a report embodying its findings on all questions of fact relevant to determining the issue between the parties and containing such recommendations as it may think proper as to the steps which should be taken to meet the complaint and the time within which they should be taken.

It shall also indicate in this report the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting Government which it considers to be appropriate, and which it considers other Governments would be justified in adopting.

ARTICLE 415.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall communicate the report of the Commission of Enquiry to each of the Governments concerned in the complaint, and shall cause it to be published.

Each of these Governments shall within one month inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations whether or not it accepts the recommendations contained in the report of the Commission ; and, if not, whether it proposes to refer the complaint to the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 416.

In the event of any Member failing to take the action required by Article 405, with regard to a recommendation or draft Convention, any other Member shall be entitled to refer the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

ARTICLE 417.

The decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice in regard to a complaint or matter which has been referred to it in pursuance of Article 415 or Article 416 shall be final.

ARTICLE 418.

The Permanent Court of International Justice may affirm, vary or reverse any of the findings or recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry, if any, and shall in its decision indicate the measures, if any, of an economic character which it considers to be appropriate, and which other Governments would be justified in adopting against a defaulting Government.

ARTICLE 419.

In the event of any Member failing to carry out within the time specified the recommendations, if any, contained in the report of the Commission of Enquiry, or in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, any other Member may take against that Member the measures of an economic character indicated in the report of the Commission or in the decision of the Court as appropriate to the case.

ARTICLE 420.

The defaulting Government may at any time inform the Governing Body that it has taken the steps necessary to

comply with the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry or with those in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, and may request it to apply to the Secretary-General of the League to constitute a Commission of Enquiry to verify its contention. In this case the provisions of Articles 412, 413, 414, 415, 417 and 418 shall apply, and if the report of the Commission of Enquiry or the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice is in favour of the defaulting Government, the other Governments shall forthwith discontinue the measures of an economic character that they have taken against the defaulting Government.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL

ARTICLE 421.

The Members engage to apply conventions which they have ratified in accordance with the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty to their colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing:

- (1) Except where owing to the local conditions the convention is inapplicable, or,
- (2) Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the convention to local conditions.

And each of the Members shall notify to the International Labour Office the action taken in respect of each of its colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

ARTICLE 422.

Amendments to this Part of the present Treaty which are adopted by the Conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the Members.

ARTICLE 423.

Any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this Part of the present Treaty or of any subsequent convention concluded by the Members in pursuance of the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty shall be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 424.

The first meeting of the Conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be as specified in the Annex hereto.

Arrangements for the convening and the organisation of the first meeting of the Conference will be made by the Government designated for the purpose in the said Annex. That Government shall be assisted in the preparation of the documents for submission to the Conference by an International Committee constituted as provided in the said Annex.

The expenses of the first meeting and of all subsequent meetings held before the League of Nations has been able to establish a general fund, other than the expenses of Delegates and their advisers, will be borne by the Members in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 425.

Until the League of Nations has been constituted all communications which under the provisions of the foregoing Articles should be addressed to the Secretary-General of the League will be preserved by the Director of the International Labour Office, who will transmit them to the Secretary-General of the League.

ARTICLE 426.

Pending the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, disputes which in accordance with this Part of the present Treaty would be submitted to it for decision will be referred to a tribunal of three persons appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

Annex

FIRST MEETING OF ANNUAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, 1919

The place of meeting will be Washington.

The Government of the United States of America is requested to convene the Conference.

The International Organising Committee will consist of seven

Members, appointed by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Switzerland. The Committee may, if it thinks necessary, invite other Members to appoint representatives.

Agenda :

- (1) Application of principle of the 8-hours day or of the 48-hours week.
- (2) Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.
- (3) Women's employment :
 - (a) Before and after child-birth, including the question of maternity benefit ;
 - (b) During the night ;
 - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (4) Employment of children :
 - (a) Minimum age of employment ;
 - (b) During the night ;
 - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (5) Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

SECTION II

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 427.

The High Contracting Parties, recognising that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in Section I and associated with that of the League of Nations.

They recognise that differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem

to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance :

First.—The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second.—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third.—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth.—The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth.—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth.—The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh.—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth.—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth.—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations ; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earners of the world.

PART XIV

GUARANTEES

SECTION I

WESTERN EUROPE

ARTICLE 428.

As a guarantee for the execution of the present Treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 429.

If the conditions of the present Treaty are faithfully carried out by Germany, the occupation referred to in Article 428 will be successively restricted as follows :

(i) At the expiration of five years there will be evacuated : the bridgehead of Cologne and the territories north of a line running along the Ruhr, then along the railway Jülich, Düren, Euskirchen, Rheinbach, thence along the road Rheinbach to Sinzig, and reaching the Rhine at the confluence with the Ahr ; the roads, railways and places mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(ii) At the expiration of ten years there will be evacuated : the bridgehead of Coblenz and the territories north of a line to be drawn from the intersection between the frontiers of Belgium, Germany and Holland, running about 4 kilometres south of Aix-la-Chapelle, then to and following the crest of Forst Gemünd, then east of the railway of the Urft Valley, then along Blankenheim, Valdorf, Dreis, Ulmen to and following the Moselle from Bremm to Nehren, then passing by Kappel and Simmern, then following the ridge of the heights between Simmern and the Rhine and reaching this river at Bacharach ; all the places, valleys, roads and railways mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(iii) At the expiration of fifteen years there will be evacuated : the bridgehead of Mainz, the bridgehead of Kehl and the remainder of the German territory under occupation.

If at that date the guarantees against unprovoked aggression by Germany are not considered sufficient by the Allied and Associated Governments, the evacuation of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees.

ARTICLE 430.

In case either during the occupation or after the expiration of the fifteen years referred to above the Reparation Commission finds that Germany refuses to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present Treaty with regard to reparation, the whole or part of the areas specified in Article 429 will be re-occupied immediately by the Allied and Associated forces.

ARTICLE 431.

If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present Treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

ARTICLE 432.

All matters relating to the occupation and not provided for by the present Treaty shall be regulated by subsequent agreements, which Germany hereby undertakes to observe.

SECTION II

EASTERN EUROPE

ARTICLE 433.

As a guarantee for the execution of the provisions of the present Treaty, by which Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and of all treaties, conventions and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia, and in order to ensure the restoration of peace and good government in the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania, all German troops at present in the said territories shall return to within the frontiers of Germany as soon as the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers shall think the moment suitable, having regard to the internal situation of these territories. These troops shall abstain from all requisitions and seizures and from any other

coercive measures, with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany, and shall in no way interfere with such measures for national defence as may be adopted by the Provisional Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

No other German troops shall, pending the evacuation or after the evacuation is complete, be admitted to the said territories.

PART XV

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 434.

Germany undertakes to recognise the full force of the Treaties of Peace and Additional Conventions which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Germany and to recognise whatever dispositions may be made concerning the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of the Kingdom of Bulgaria and of the Ottoman Empire, and to recognise the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

ARTICLE 435.

The High Contracting Parties, while they recognise the guarantees stipulated by the Treaties of 1815, and especially by the Act of November 20, 1815, in favour of Switzerland, the said guarantees constituting international obligations for the maintenance of peace, declare nevertheless that the provisions of these treaties, conventions, declarations and other supplementary Acts concerning the neutralized zone of Savoy, as laid down in paragraph 1 of Article 92 of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna and in paragraph 2 of Article 3 of the Treaty of Paris of November 20, 1815, are no longer consistent with present conditions. For this reason the High Contracting Parties take note of the agreement reached between the French Government and the Swiss Government for the abrogation of the stipulations relating to this zone which are and remain abrogated.

The High Contracting Parties also agree that the stipulations of the Treaties of 1815 and of the other supplementary Acts concerning the free zones of Upper Savoy and the Gex district

are no longer consistent with present conditions, and that it is for France and Switzerland to come to an agreement together with a view to settling between themselves the status of these territories under such conditions as shall be considered suitable by both countries.

Annex

I

The Swiss Federal Council has informed the French Government on May 5, 1919, that after examining the provisions of Article 435 in a like spirit of sincere friendship it has happily reached the conclusion that it was possible to acquiesce in it under the following conditions and reservations :

(1) The neutralized zone of Haute-Savoie :

(a) It will be understood that as long as the Federal Chambers have not ratified the agreement come to between the two Governments concerning the abrogation of the stipulations in respect of the neutralized zone of Savoy, nothing will be definitively settled, on one side or on the other, in regard to this subject.

(b) The assent given by the Swiss Government to the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations presupposes, in conformity with the text adopted, the recognition of the guarantees formulated in favour of Switzerland by the Treaties of 1815 and particularly by the Declaration of November 20, 1815.

(c) The agreement between the Governments of France and Switzerland for the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations will only be considered as valid if the Treaty of Peace contains this Article in its present wording. In addition the Parties to the Treaty of Peace should endeavour to obtain the assent of the signatory Powers of the Treaties of 1815 and of the Declaration of November 20, 1815, which are not signatories of the present Treaty of Peace.

(2) Free zone of Haute-Savoie and the district of Gex :

(a) The Federal Council makes the most express reservations to the interpretation to be given to the statement mentioned in the last paragraph of the above Article for insertion in the Treaty of Peace, which provides that "the stipulations of the Treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts concerning the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district are no longer consistent with present conditions." The Federal Council would not wish that its acceptance of the above wording should lead to the conclusion that it would agree to the suppression of a system intended to give neighbouring territory the benefit of a special régime which is appropriate to the geographical and economical situation and which has been well tested.

In the opinion of the Federal Council the question is not the modification of the custom systems of the zones as set up by the Treaties mentioned above, but only the regulation in a manner more appropriate to the economic conditions of the present day of the terms

of the exchange of goods between the regions in question. The Federal Council has been led to make the preceding observations by the perusal of the draft Convention concerning the future constitution of the zones which was annexed to the note of April 26 from the French Government. While making the above reservations the Federal Council declares its readiness to examine in the most friendly spirit any proposals which the French Government may deem it convenient to make on the subject.

(b) It is conceded that the stipulations of the Treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts relative to the free zones will remain in force until a new arrangement is come to between France and Switzerland to regulate matters in this territory.

II

The French Government have addressed to the Swiss Government, on May 18, 1919, the following note in reply to the communication set out in the preceding paragraph :

In a note dated May 5 the Swiss Legation in Paris was good enough to inform the Government of the French Republic that the Federal Government adhered to the proposed Article to be inserted in the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Governments and Germany.

The French Government have taken note with much pleasure of the agreement thus reached, and, at their request, the proposed Article, which had been accepted by the Allied and Associated Governments, has been inserted under No. 435 in the Peace conditions presented to the German Plenipotentiaries.

The Swiss Government, in their note of May 5 on this subject, have expressed various views and reservations.

Concerning the observations relating to the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district, the French Government have the honour to observe that the provisions of the last paragraph of Article 435 are so clear that their purport cannot be misapprehended, especially where it implies that no other Power but France and Switzerland will in future be interested in that question.

The French Government, on their part, are anxious to protect the interests of the French territories concerned, and, with that object, having their special situation in view, they bear in mind the desirability of assuring them a suitable customs régime and determining, in a manner better suited to present conditions, the methods of exchanges between these territories and the adjacent Swiss territories, while taking into account the reciprocal interest of both regions.

It is understood that this must in no way prejudice the right of France to adjust her customs line in this region in conformity with her political frontier, as is done on the other portions of her territorial boundaries, and as was done by Switzerland long ago on her own boundaries in this region.

The French Government are pleased to note on this subject in what a friendly disposition the Swiss Government take this opportunity of

declaring their willingness to consider any French proposal dealing with the system to be substituted for the present régime of the said free zones, which the French Government intend to formulate in the same friendly spirit.

Moreover, the French Government have no doubt that the provisional maintenance of the régime of 1815 as to the free zones referred to in the above-mentioned paragraph of the note from the Swiss Legation of May 5, whose object is to provide for the passage from the present régime to the conventional régime, will cause no delay whatsoever in the establishment of the new situation which has been found necessary by the two Governments. This remark applies also to the ratification by the Federal Chambers, dealt with in paragraph 1 (a), of the Swiss note of May 5, under the heading "Neutralized zone of Haute-Savoie."

ARTICLE 436.

The High Contracting Parties declare and place on record that they have taken note of the Treaty signed by the Government of the French Republic on July 17, 1918, with His Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco defining the relations between France and the Principality.

ARTICLE 437.

The High Contracting Parties agree that, in the absence of a subsequent agreement to the contrary, the Chairman of any Commission established by the present Treaty shall in the event of an equality of votes be entitled to a second vote.

ARTICLE 438.

The Allied and Associated Powers agree that where Christian religious missions were being maintained by German societies or persons in territory belonging to them, or of which the government is entrusted to them in accordance with the present Treaty, the property which these missions or missionary societies possessed, including that of trading societies whose profits were devoted to the support of missions, shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes. In order to ensure the due execution of this undertaking the Allied and Associated Governments will hand over such property to boards of trustees appointed by or approved by the Governments and composed of persons holding the faith of the Mission whose property is involved.

The Allied and Associated Governments, while continuing to maintain full control as to the individuals by whom the

Missions are conducted, will safeguard the interests of such Missions.

Germany, taking note of the above undertaking, agrees to accept all arrangements made or to be made by the Allied or Associated Government concerned for carrying on the work of the said missions or trading societies and waive all claims on their behalf.

ARTICLE 439.

Without prejudice to the provisions of the present Treaty, Germany undertakes not to put forward directly or indirectly against any Allied or Associated Power, signatory of the present Treaty, including those which without having declared war, have broken off diplomatic relations with the German Empire, any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of the present Treaty.

The present stipulation will bar completely and finally all claims of this nature which will be thenceforward extinguished, whoever may be the parties in interest.

ARTICLE 440.

Germany accepts and recognises as valid and binding all decrees and orders concerning German ships and goods and all orders relating to the payment of costs made by any Prize Court of any of the Allied or Associated Powers, and undertakes not to put forward any claim arising out of such decrees or orders on behalf of any German national.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to examine in such manner as they may determine all decisions and orders of German Prize Courts, whether affecting the property rights of nationals of those Powers or of neutral Powers. Germany agrees to furnish copies of all the documents constituting the record of the cases, including the decisions and orders made, and to accept and give effect to the recommendations made after such examination of the cases.

THE PRESENT TREATY, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris as soon as possible.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the Treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand, and by three of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other hand.

From the date of this first procès-verbal the Treaty will come into force between the High Contracting Parties who have ratified it. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present Treaty this date will be the date of the coming into force of the Treaty.¹

In all other respects the Treaty will enter into force for each Power at the date of the deposit of its ratification.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbaux of the deposit of ratifications.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at Versailles, the Twenty-eight day of June, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the Signatory Powers.

¹ Ratifications were exchanged and the Treaty came into force on the 10th January, 1920; Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy having ratified the Treaty before that date, though the United States had not done so.



ANNEX I

TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN

(Signed at Versailles, 28th June, 1919)

*Assistance to France in the Event of unprovoked
Aggression by Germany*

ARTICLE 1.

In case the following stipulations relating to the Left Bank of the Rhine contained in the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles the 28th day of June, 1919, by the British Empire, the French Republic, and the United States of America among other Powers :

“ ARTICLE 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilom. to the east of the Rhine.

“ ARTICLE 43. In the area defined above the maintenance and assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manœuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilisation, are in the same way forbidden.

“ ARTICLE 44. In case Germany violates in any manner whatsoever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present Treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.”

may not at first provide adequate security and protection to France, Great Britain agrees to come immediately to her assistance in the event of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her being made by Germany.

ARTICLE 2.

The present Treaty, in similar terms with the Treaty of even date for the same purpose concluded between the French Republic and the United States of America, a copy of which Treaty is annexed hereto, will only come into force when the latter is ratified.

ARTICLE 3.

The present Treaty must be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations and must be recognised by the Council, acting if need be by a majority, as an engagement which is

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consistent with the Covenant of the League; it will continue in force until on the application of one of the Parties to it the Council, acting if need be by a majority, agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection.

ARTICLE 4.

The present Treaty shall before ratification by His Majesty be submitted to Parliament for approval.

It shall before ratification by the President of the French Republic be submitted to the French Chambers for approval.

ARTICLE 5.

The present Treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the Dominions of the British Empire unless and until it is approved by the Parliament of the Dominion concerned.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and shall, subject to Articles 2 and 4, come into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace with Germany of even date comes into force for the British Empire and the French Republic.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty, drawn up in the English and French languages.

Done in duplicate at Versailles, on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1919.

(Seal) D. LLOYD GEORGE.

(Seal) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

(Seal) G. CLEMENCEAU.

(Seal) S. PICHON.

NOTE.—The exchange of ratifications between Great Britain and France in connexion with this Treaty took place at Paris on the 20th November, 1919.

The following parliamentary questions and answers exhibit the British view of the situation thus created (*Times*, 22nd November, 1919) :

Sir S. Hoare (Chelsea, C.U.).—Can the right hon. gentleman say whether the action of the Congress has made any difference to the Anglo-French-American Treaty?

Mr. Bonar Law.—My hon. friend knows that our undertaking under that Treaty was contingent on its being carried out also by the U.S. Up to now that Treaty has not been considered, I think—at all events, it has not been ratified by the United States.

Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy (Hull, Central, L.).—Are we to understand that the Anglo-French portion of the Treaty—namely, our assurances and insurances to the French Government—stand, irrespective of America's action?

Mr. Bonar Law.—As far as any obligation of this country is concerned—I do not say that another situation will not make a new condition of affairs—it is contingent upon the United States Government undertaking the same obligation.

ANNEX II

ASSISTANCE TO FRANCE IN THE EVENT OF
UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION BY GERMANY

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE

Signed at Versailles June 28, 1919.

WHEREAS the United States of America and the French Republic are equally animated by the desire to maintain the Peace of the world so happily restored by the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles the 28th day of June, 1919, putting an end to the war begun by the aggression of the German Empire and ended by the defeat of that Power ; and,

WHEREAS the United States of America and the French Republic are fully persuaded that an unprovoked movement of aggression by Germany against France would not only violate both the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles to which the United States of America and the French Republic are parties, thus exposing France anew to the intolerable burdens of an unprovoked war, but that such aggression on the part of Germany would be and is so regarded by the Treaty of Versailles as a hostile act against all the Powers signatory to that Treaty and as calculated to disturb the Peace of the world by involving inevitably and directly the States of Europe and indirectly, as experience has amply and unfortunately demonstrated, the world at large ; and,

WHEREAS the United States of America and the French Republic fear that the stipulations relating to the left bank of the Rhine contained in the said Treaty of Versailles may not at first provide adequate security and protection to France on the one hand, and the United States of America, as one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, on the other ;

THEREFORE, the United States of America and the French Republic having decided to conclude a treaty to effect these necessary purposes, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, specially authorised thereto by the President of the United States, and Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War, and Stéphen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, specially authorised thereto by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, have agreed upon the following articles :

ARTICLE I.

In case the following stipulations relating to the Left Bank of the Rhine, contained in the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, by the United States of America, the French Republic, and the British Empire among other Powers :

Article 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right

bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine.

'Article 43. In the area defined above, the maintenance and assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

'Article 44. In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present Treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.'

may not at first provide adequate security and protection to France, the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her assistance in the event of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her being made by Germany.

ARTICLE 2.

The present Treaty, in similar terms with the Treaty of even date for the same purpose concluded between Great Britain and the French Republic, a copy of which Treaty is annexed hereto, will only come into force when the latter is ratified.

ARTICLE 3.

The present Treaty must be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations, and must be recognised by the Council, acting if need be by a majority, as an engagement which is consistent with the Covenant of the League. It will continue in force until on the application of one of the parties to it the Council, acting if need be by a majority, agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection.

ARTICLE 4.

The present Treaty will be submitted to the Senate of the United States at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles is submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. It will be submitted before ratification to the French Chamber of Deputies for approval. The ratifications thereof will be exchanged on the deposit of ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles at Paris or as soon thereafter as shall be possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit : On the part of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson, President, and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, of the United States ; and on the part of the French Republic, Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of War, and Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, have signed the above articles both in English and French languages, and they have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate at the City of Versailles, on the twenty-eighth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and the one hundred and forty-third of the Independence of the United States of America.

(Seal) WOODROW WILSON.

(Seal) ROBERT LANSING.

(Seal) CLEMENCEAU.

(Seal) S. PICHON.

Note.—The U.S.A. Senate has, up to date, refused to ratify this.

ANNEX III

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA, BELGIUM, THE BRITISH EMPIRE,
AND FRANCE AND GERMANYWITH REGARD TO THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF THE
TERRITORIES OF THE RHINE*Signed at Versailles, June 28th, 1919.*

AGREEMENT

between the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BELGIUM, the
BRITISH EMPIRE, and FRANCE,

and GERMANY,

of the one part,

of the other part,

with regard to the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine.

The Undersigned, acting under the powers conferred upon them by
their respective Governments, have come to the following agreement as
provided for in Article 432 of the Treaty of Peace of even date.

ARTICLE 1.

In accordance with Article 428 and the following Articles of the
Treaty of even date, the armed forces of the Allied and Associated
Powers will continue in occupation of German territory (as such occu-
pation is defined by Article 5 of the Armistice Convention of the
11th November 1918, as extended by Article 7 of the Additional Con-
vention of the 16th January 1919), as a guarantee of the execution by
Germany of the Treaty.No German troops, except prisoners of war in process of repatriation,
shall be admitted to the occupied territories, even in transit; but
police forces of a strength to be determined by the Allied and Associated
Powers may be maintained in these territories for the purpose of ensuring
order.

ARTICLE 2.

There shall be constituted a civilian body styled *the Inter-Allied
Rhineland High Commission*, and hereinafter called *the High Com-
mission*, which, except in so far as the Treaty may otherwise provide,
shall be the supreme representative of the Allied and Associated Powers
within the occupied territory. It shall consist of four members repre-
senting Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the United States.

ARTICLE 3.

(a) The High Commission shall have the power to issue ordinances
so far as may be necessary for securing the maintenance, safety, and
requirements of the Allied and Associated forces. Such ordinances

shall be published under the authority of the High Commission, and copies thereof shall be sent to each of the Allied and Associated Governments and also to the German Government.

When so published they shall have the force of law and shall be recognised as such by all the Allied and Associated military authorities and by the German civil authorities.

(b) The members of the High Commission shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

(c) The German courts shall continue to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction subject to the exceptions contained in paragraphs (d) and (e) below.

(d) The armed forces of the Allied and Associated Powers and the persons accompanying them, to whom the General Officers Commanding the Armies of Occupation shall have issued a revocable pass, and any persons employed by, or in the service of such troops, shall be exclusively subject to the military law and jurisdiction of such forces.

(e) Any person who commits any offence against the persons or property of the armed forces of the Allied and Associated Powers may be made amenable to the military jurisdiction of the said forces.

ARTICLE 4.

The German authorities, both in the occupied and in the unoccupied territories, shall, on the demand of any duly authorised military officer of the occupying forces, arrest and hand over to the nearest commander of the Allied or Associated troops any person charged with an offence who is amenable under paragraph (d) or paragraph (e) of Article 3 above to the military jurisdiction of the Allied or Associated Forces.

ARTICLE 5.

The civil administration of the provinces (*Provinzen*), Government departments (*Regierungsbezirke*), Urban Circles (*Stadtkreise*), Rural Circles (*Landkreise*), and Communes (*Gemeinde*), shall remain in the hands of the German authorities, and the civil administration of these areas shall continue under German law and under the authority of the Central German Government, except in so far as it may be necessary for the High Commission by Ordinance under Article 3 to adapt that administration to the needs and circumstances of military occupation. It is understood that the German authorities shall be obliged, under penalty of removal, to conform to the ordinances issued in virtue of Article 3 above.

ARTICLE 6.

The right to requisition in kind and to demand services in the manner laid down in the Hague Convention, 1907, shall be exercised by the Allied and Associated Armies of Occupation.

The charges for the requisitions effected in the zone of each Allied and Associated army and the estimate of damage caused by the troops of occupation shall be determined by local Commissions composed in equal representation of German civilians appointed by the German civil authorities and Allied or Associated military officers, and presided over by some person appointed by the High Commission.

The German Government shall continue to be responsible for the

cost of maintenance of the troops of occupation under the conditions fixed by the Treaty. The German Government shall also be responsible for the costs and expenses of the High Commission, and for its housing. Suitable premises for the housing of the High Commission shall be selected after consultation with the German Government.

ARTICLE 7.

The Allied and Associated troops shall continue undisturbed in possession of any premises at present occupied by them, subject to the provision of Article 8 (b) below.

ARTICLE 8.

(a) The German Government shall undertake, moreover, to place at the disposal of the Allied and Associated troops and to maintain in good state of repair all the military establishments required for the said troops, with the necessary furniture, heating, and lighting, in accordance with the regulations concerning these matters in force in the various armies concerned. These shall include accommodation for officers and men, guard-rooms, offices, administrative, regimental and staff head-quarters, workshops, store-rooms, hospitals, laundries, regimental schools, riding schools, stables, training grounds and rifle and artillery ranges, aviation grounds, grazing grounds, warehouses for supplies and grounds for military manoeuvres, also theatre and cinema premises, and reasonable facilities for sport and for recreation grounds for the troops.

(b) Private soldiers and non-commissioned officers shall be accommodated in barracks, and shall not be billeted on the inhabitants, except in cases of exceptional emergency.

In the event of the existing military establishments being insufficient or not being considered suitable, the Allied and Associated troops may take possession of any other public or private establishment with its personnel, suitable for those purposes, or, if there are no such suitable premises, they may require the construction of new barracks.

Civilian and military officers and their families may be billeted on the inhabitants in accordance with the billeting regulations in force in each army.

ARTICLE 9.

No German direct taxes or duties will be payable by the High Commission, the Allied and Associated armies or their personnel.

Food supplies, arms, clothing, equipment, and provisions of all kinds for the use of the Allied and Associated Armies, or addressed to the military authorities, or to the High Commission, or to canteens and officers' messes, shall be transported free of charge and free of all import duties of any kind.

ARTICLE 10.

The personnel employed on all means of communication (railways, railroads, and tramways of all kinds, waterways (including the Rhine), roads and rivers), shall obey any orders given by, or on behalf of, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated armies for military purposes.

MILITARY AGREEMENT

All the material and all the civil personnel necessary for the maintenance and working of all means of communication must be kept intact on all such means of communication in the occupied territory.

The transport on the railways of troops or individual soldiers or officers, on duty or furnished with a warrant, will be effected without payment.

ARTICLE 11.

The Armies of Occupation may continue to use for military purposes all existing telegraphic and telephonic installations.

The Armies of Occupation shall also have the right to continue to install and use military telegraph and telephone lines, wireless stations and all other similar means of communication which may appear to them expedient. For this purpose, subject to the approval of the High Commission, they may enter upon and occupy any land, whether public or private.

The personnel of the public telegraph and telephone services shall continue to obey the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated Armies given for military purposes.

Telegrams and messages to or from the Allied and Associated authorities and the High Commission and of an official nature shall be entitled to priority over all other communications and shall be dispatched free of charge. The Allied and Associated military authorities shall have the right to supervise the order in which such communications are transmitted.

No wireless telegraphy installations shall be allowed to be erected by the authorities or by the inhabitants of the occupied territory without previous authorisation by the Allied and Associated military authorities.

ARTICLE 12.

The personnel of the postal services shall obey any orders given by or on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated Armies for military purposes. The public postal service shall continue to be carried out by the German authorities, but this shall not in any way affect the retention of the military postal services organised by the Armies of Occupation, who shall have the right to use all existing postal routes for military requirements.

The said armies shall have the right to run postal wagons with all necessary personnel on all existing postal routes.

The German Government shall transmit free of charge and without examination letters and parcels which may be entrusted to its post-offices by or for the Armies of Occupation or by or for the High Commission ; and shall be responsible for the value of any letters or parcels lost.

ARTICLE 13.

The High Commission shall have the power, whenever they think it necessary, to declare a state of siege in any part of the territory or in the whole of it. Upon such declaration the military authorities shall

have the powers provided in the German Imperial Law of May 30th, 1892.

In case of emergency, where public order is disturbed or threatened in any district, the local military authorities shall have the power to take such temporary measures as may be necessary for restoring order. In such case the military authorities shall report the facts to the High Commission.

Done at Versailles, the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

'ANNEX IV

PROTOCOL. SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE TREATY OF PEACE

Signed at Versailles, 28th June, 1919.

With a view to indicating precisely the conditions in which certain provisions of the Treaty of even date are to be carried out, it is agreed by the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES that :—

(1) A Commission will be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to supervise the destruction of the fortifications of Heligoland in accordance with the Treaty. This Commission will be authorised to decide what portion of the works protecting the coast from sea erosion are to be maintained and what portion must be destroyed ;

(2) Sums reimbursed by Germany to German nationals to indemnify them in respect of the interests which they may be found to possess in the railways and mines referred to in the second paragraph of Article 156 shall be credited to Germany against the sums due by way of reparation ;

(3) The list of persons to be handed over to the Allied and Associated Governments by Germany under the second paragraph of Article 228 shall be communicated to the German Government within a month from the coming into force of the Treaty ;

(4) The Reparation Commission referred to in Article 240 and paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of Annex IV cannot require trade secrets or other confidential information to be divulged ;

(5) From the signature of the Treaty and within the ensuing four months Germany will be entitled to submit for examination by the Allied and Associated Powers documents and proposals in order to expedite the work connected with

reparation, and thus to shorten the investigation and to accelerate the decisions;

(6) Proceedings will be taken against persons who have committed punishable offences in the liquidation of German property, and the Allied and Associated Powers will welcome any information or evidence which the German Government can furnish on this subject.

Done at Versailles, the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

Note.—The text of the Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and Poland (28th June, 1920) will be given in a subsequent Volume.

APPENDIX IV

TEXT OF THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION¹

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN REALM AS DECREED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 1919.

THE German nation united in its every branch and inspired by the determination to restore and confirm its Realm in liberty and justice, to serve peace at home and peace abroad, and to further social progress, has given itself this Constitution.

FIRST CHAPTER

THE REALM: ITS STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

SECTION I

REALM² AND LANDS³

ARTICLE 1.

The German Realm is a Republic.

Constitutional power proceeds from the people.

ARTICLE 2.

The territory of the Realm consists of the territories of the German Lands. Other territories may be incorporated in the Realm by a national law, if their populations should so desire in virtue of the right of self-determination.

ARTICLE 3.

The national colours are black-red-gold. The commercial flag is black-white-red with the national colours in the inner upper corner.

¹ We acknowledge, with thanks, permission to reproduce this text, which is mainly that printed in the November and December numbers of the *International Review* of 1919. The whole text has, however, been collated with the German, and numerous modifications introduced. Some suggestions have also been adopted from Professor G. Young's translation of the text in *The New Germany*, pp. 262-320.

² The word *Reich* we translate as *Realm*. But compound words formed with *Reich*, e. g. *Reichsregierung*, we generally translate by the adjective *national*, e. g. *the National Government*—(as distinct from the Land Governments). See further note on page 378.

³ *Länder*.—The word *Länder*, literally *countries* or *territories*, has been deliberately used instead of the word *Staaten*, apparently to signify the loss of all sovereign rights imposed under the new Constitution on the separate kingdoms, &c., like Bavaria. The word *States* for the members of a federal constitution seems therefore to be misleading as expressly repudiated and 'Lands' is used, a new word coined by Professor Young.

ARTICLE 4.

The universally recognized rules of international law are valid as binding constituent parts of German law of the Realm.

ARTICLE 5.

Constitutional power is exercised, in matters pertaining to the Realm, through the institutions of the Realm in virtue of the constitution of the Realm, and, in matters pertaining to the Lands, by the constitutional bodies of those Lands within the lines laid down by the constitutions of those Lands.

ARTICLE 6.

The Realm has the exclusive power of legislation on the following subjects :

- (1) Foreign relations.
- (2) Colonies.
- (3) Nationality, freedom of domicile, immigration and emigration, extradition.
- (4) National defence.
- (5) Currency.
- (6) Tariffs, including uniformity in tariff and commercial spheres and free transit of goods.
- (7) Posts and telegraphs, including telephones.

ARTICLE 7.

The Realm has power of legislation on the following subjects :

- (1) Citizenship.
- (2) The criminal code.
- (3) Judicial procedure, including the execution of justice; further, official assistance given by one public authority to another.
- (4) Passports and police supervision of aliens.
- (5) Pauper relief and vagrancy.
- (6) The Press, the right of association, the right of meeting.
- (7) Population questions, care of motherhood, infants, children, and young persons.
- (8) Public health, veterinary regulations, and protection of plants against disease or injury.
- (9) The right to work, insurance and protection of workers and employees, and employment exchange.
- (10) The institution of vocational associations extending over the Realm.¹
- (11) The care of discharged soldiers and their dependants.
- (12) The right of expropriation.
- (13) Socialization of natural resources and of economic undertakings, further the manufacture, production, distribution, and pricing of economic commodities destined for public use.
- (14) The commercial code, weights and measures, the issue of paper money, banking, and stock exchange regulations.

¹ i.e. the representation of particular callings or occupations as in the Trade Unions, &c.

- (15) Transactions in foodstuffs and food luxuries, and also in commodities of daily use.
- (16) Industry and mining.
- (17) Insurance.
- (18) Merchant shipping, fishing on the high seas and coast fishing.
- (19) Railways, canal traffic, motor traffic by land, sea, and air, and the construction of roads serving general traffic and national defence.
- (20) Theatres and cinemas.

ARTICLE 8.

The Realm has further the right of legislating as to taxation and other sources of revenue, if such taxes are wholly or partially claimed in order to meet its expenditure. Should the Realm lay claim to taxes or other sources of revenue which have hitherto been credited to the Lands, it must pay due consideration to preserving those Lands in a condition of efficiency.

ARTICLE 9.

The Realm has the right to legislate on the following subjects, if and when it is necessary to issue uniform regulations :

- (1) Public Health.
- (2) Protection of public order and public safety.

ARTICLE 10.

The Realm is entitled, in the course of legislation, to lay down principles concerning the following :

- (1) Rights and duties of religious communities.
- (2) Education, including the Universities and scientific librarianship.
- (3) Rights of the officials of all public bodies.
- (4) Right to the land, land distribution, land settlement and small holdings, the law of entail, housing, and distribution of the population.
- (5) Burial of the dead.

ARTICLE 11.

The Realm is entitled, in the course of legislation, to lay down principles, if and when necessary, concerning the validity of taxes levied by the Lands, and the procedure therein followed, in cases :

- (1) Where the national revenues or the national commercial relations suffer injury.
- (2) Where taxation has overlapped.
- (3) Where dues have been levied on public communications or institutions such as threaten to be excessive or to interfere with communication.
- (4) Where, in the course of traffic between the different Lands or provinces, commodities entering a certain State suffer financial disabilities as compared with the same class of commodity manufactured in such State.
- (5) In order to exclude export premiums or to safeguard important social interests.

ARTICLE 12.

As long as, and in so far as, the Realm fails to make use of its rights of legislation, the Lands retain their own rights of legislating.

This does not apply to the legislative power which belongs to the Realm exclusively.

The Government of the Realm has the right of veto against any legislation of the Lands which touches the topics mentioned under Number 13 of Article 7, in so far as the interests of the whole community of persons comprised in the Realm are thereby affected.

ARTICLE 13.

Law of the Realm prevails over law of the Lands.

Should any doubt or difficulty arise as to whether an act of the Land legislature is compatible with the national law of the Realm, the competent national or Land authorities may appeal to the decision of a Supreme National Court of Judicature; as may be subsequently determined by an act of the Realm.

ARTICLE 14.

The execution of national laws shall rest with the authorities of the Lands except where other regulations are laid down in those laws themselves.

ARTICLE 15.

The National Government has the right of supervision in those matters on which it has the right of legislation.

The National Government may lay down general directions where national laws are to be put into execution by the authorities of the Lands. It is entitled to send commissioners to the authorities of the Lands, and with their concurrence to subordinate authorities, in order to supervise the execution of the national laws.

The Land Governments are bound to remedy, on demand of the National Government, any deficiencies which may have appeared in the course of executing the national laws. In cases of dispute, both National Government and Land Governments may appeal to the decision of a Supreme Court of Judicature, except where a national law declares another court to be competent.

ARTICLE 16.

Officials directly charged with national business in any Land shall, as a rule, be citizens of that Land. Officials, employees, and workers in the employ of the National Government shall, if they so desire, be employed within their home Land, in so far as this is possible, and in so far as the requirements of the service or the requirements of their training do not suffer.

ARTICLE 17.

Every Land must have a liberal constitution.¹ The Representative Body (of such State) must be chosen by universal, equal, direct and

¹ 'Freistaatliche Verfassung'. It cannot be monarchical (see Art. 1) and must apparently have an executive responsible to the majority of the popular house. (See last para. Art. 17.)

secret suffrage by all nationals of either sex, on the system of proportional representation. The Land Government must have the confidence of its popular Representative Body.

The principles laid down for the election of the popular Representative Body apply also to the elections to local bodies. Nevertheless, Land legislation may require, as an elector's qualification, domicile within the locality not exceeding one year.

ARTICLE 18.

The division of the Realm into Lands shall serve the highest economic and cultural progress of the nation, while paying all possible regard to the wishes of the population affected. A national law is required to alter the frontiers of Lands, or to create new Lands within the bounds of the Realm.

Where the Lands directly affected consent, a simple national law shall suffice.

A simple national law shall further suffice where one of the Lands affected does not consent, but where the alteration of a frontier or the creation of a new Land is demanded by the wishes of the population and there is an overwhelming national interest in favour of it.

The wishes of the population shall be ascertained by means of a plebiscite. The National Government shall order a plebiscite to take place if one-third of the total number of those who have a vote for the Reichstag, living within the territory affected, demand it.

Three-fifths of the votes recorded, and at least a bare majority of the total number of electors, are necessary to determine any alteration of frontier or the foundation of a new Land. Even where there is only question of separating part of a Prussian county or of a Bavarian district, or of the corresponding divisions in any other Land, the wishes of the population inhabiting the whole district affected must be ascertained. Should there be no geographical connexion between the portion to be disconnected and the whole district, a special national law may declare the wishes of the portion which is to be disconnected to be sufficient.

When the wishes of the population have been ascertained, the National Government shall lay a law embodying them before the Reichstag.

Should any dispute arise on the occasion of a union or a disconnection of territory in respect of property claims, the decision shall lie with the Supreme National Court of Judicature of the whole Realm on appeal of either party.

ARTICLE 19.

Should a constitutional dispute arise within a Land, for deciding which there is no competent court, or should a dispute of a public nature arise between Lands or between the Realm and a Land, either of the disputing parties may appeal, unless another court of the Realm is competent, to the Supreme National Court of Judicature,¹ which shall decide. Execution of the decision of the Supreme Court of Judicature shall lie with the President of the Realm.

¹ *Staatsgerichtshof*.

SECTION II

THE REICHSTAG (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY)

ARTICLE 20

The Reichstag is composed of the deputies of the German people.

ARTICLE 21.

The deputies are representatives of the whole people. They are subject to their conscience only and are not bound by instructions.

ARTICLE 22.

The deputies shall be elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage by those of either sex over twenty years of age, on the principles of proportional representation. The day of the election must be a Sunday or public holiday. A national electoral law shall lay down further detailed regulations.

ARTICLE 23.

The Reichstag shall be chosen for four years. New elections must take place at latest within sixty days after the expiration of its term of office. The Reichstag must hold its first meeting at latest on the thirtieth day after election.

ARTICLE 24.

The Reichstag shall meet on the first Wednesday of November in every year at the seat of the Government. The President of the Reichstag is bound to call it together at an earlier date if the President of the Realm, or at least one-third of the deputies, demand it.

The Reichstag determines the date of the close of its session and the date of its re-assembly.

ARTICLE 25.

The President of the Realm has power to dissolve the Reichstag, but may only do so once on account of the same cause.

New elections must be held at latest on the sixtieth day after the dissolution.

ARTICLE 26.

The Reichstag shall choose its own President, its Vice-President, and its Secretaries. It shall regulate its own procedure.

ARTICLE 27.

The President of the Reichstag and the Vice-President holding office during the preceding session shall continue the business of the House between two sessions or between two election periods.

ARTICLE 28.

Disciplinary and police powers within the Reichstag building are in the hands of the President of the Reichstag. Further, the administration of the House is in his hands ; he has control of the income

and expenditure of the House within the limits laid down by the national budget, and he represents the House in all the legal proceedings and legal business involved in its administration.

ARTICLE 29.

The sittings of the Reichstag are public. The public may be excluded on the demand of fifty deputies and by a two-thirds majority vote.

ARTICLE 30.

True reports of the proceedings at the public sittings of the Reichstag, of the proceedings at a Landtag, of the proceedings at Committees of the Reichstag or Landtag, are privileged matter.

ARTICLE 31.

A Court of Inquiry into election proceedings shall be formed in connexion with the Reichstag. Such Court shall also decide whether any deputy has forfeited his mandate.

The Court of Inquiry into election proceedings shall be formed of members of the Reichstag, who shall be elected by the Reichstag for the duration of the electoral period, and further of members of the Supreme Court of Administration, who shall be nominated by the President of the Realm on the suggestion of the Presiding officers of this Court.

The Court of Inquiry into election proceedings shall pronounce judgment in public and oral session through three members of the Reichstag and two legal members.

Apart from inquiries actually conducted before the Court of Inquiry, proceedings may be taken before an officer of the Realm appointed by the President of the Realm. Further procedure shall be determined by the Court of Inquiry.

ARTICLE 32.

A resolution of the Reichstag requires a simple majority of votes, except where some other proportion of votes is laid down by the constitution. The Standing Orders of the Reichstag may admit exceptions to this rule in the case of elections carried out by the Reichstag.

The Standing Order shall regulate all questions of the validity of resolutions.

ARTICLE 33.

The Reichstag and the Committees of the Reichstag are entitled to demand the presence of the Chancellor or of any other National Minister. The Chancellor, the National Ministers, and their deputies have access to the sittings of the Reichstag and to the sittings of the Committees of the Reichstag. The Lands are entitled to send plenipotentiaries to these sittings who shall submit the views of their Government on the question under discussion.

The representatives of the Lands may demand to be heard during the discussion ; the representatives of the National Government may also demand to be heard, and without regard to the agenda before the House.

Both sets of representatives are subject to the rulings of the Chair.

ARTICLE 34.

The Reichstag is entitled to set up Committees of Inquiry: it must do so if one-fifth of the members demand it. Such Committees shall inquire into such evidence as they consider necessary, or the petitioners consider necessary. The public may be excluded by resolution of a two-thirds majority of the Committee of Inquiry. The Standing Orders shall regulate the procedure of the Committee and determine the number of its members.

The courts and the civil service are bound to submit any evidence demanded by these Committees; the Committees may demand to see their records.

The regulations of the Criminal Code apply to the taking of evidence by the Committees or by such authorities as they have instructed nevertheless, the secrecy of the post office, of the letter, telegraph, and telephone services remain unaffected.

ARTICLE 35.

The Reichstag shall appoint a Permanent Committee for Foreign Affairs; such Committee shall be entitled to carry on business independently of the sessions of the Reichstag, or after the election period has come to an end, or after the Reichstag has been dissolved until the meeting of the new Reichstag. The sittings of such Committee are not public, unless the Committee itself decides on publicity by a two-thirds majority.

The Reichstag shall further appoint a Permanent Committee for those periods during which it is out of session, and for the period following the termination of an election period, in order to safeguard the rights of the people's representatives against the National Government.

Such Committees have the same rights as the Committees of Inquiry.

ARTICLE 36.

No member of the Reichstag or of a Landtag may at any time be made subject to judicial or administrative penalty, or may be made responsible outside the House, on account of his vote or on account of any utterances made in virtue of his office as deputy.

ARTICLE 37.

No member of the Reichstag or of a Landtag may, without the consent of the House of which he is a member, be arrested or subjected to examination, while the House is in session, on account of any act for which criminal proceedings are threatened unless and except he has been arrested while committing the said act or at latest in the course of the following day.

A like consent is necessary for every other restriction of personal liberty calculated to obstruct a deputy in the free exercise of his office.

The Reichstag or a Landtag may require any criminal proceedings, any arrest, or any other restriction placed on the personal liberty of one of its members to be suspended for the duration of the session.

ARTICLE 38.

The members of the Reichstag and of the Landtags are entitled to refuse their evidence, both as to the identity of persons who have made communications to them in their capacity as deputies, and as to the nature of these communications themselves. With regard to the seizure of documents their position is further identical with that of persons who have the legal right of refusing evidence.

A search or seizure of documents may not take place within the precincts of the Reichstag building or a Landtag building, except by consent of the President of the House in each respective case.

ARTICLE 39.

Officials or members of the armed forces require no leave in order to exercise their functions as members of the Reichstag, or of a Landtag.

Should they be candidates for a seat in these bodies, leave to prepare their candidature must be granted to them.

ARTICLE 40.

The members of the Reichstag are entitled to free passes on all German railways, and also to allowances as laid down in a national law.

SECTION III

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REALM AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE 41.

The President of the Realm shall be elected by the whole German nation.

Every German who has completed his thirty-fifth year is eligible. A national law shall determine further regulations.

ARTICLE 42.

The President of the Realm shall swear the following oath on taking office—

I swear that I will devote my powers to the good of the German people, that I will advance the people's interests, will avert injury from it, will maintain the constitution and the laws, will fulfil my duties conscientiously, and will exercise justice towards all.

The addition of a religious oath is permissible.

ARTICLE 43.

The office of President is tenable for seven years.

A President is re-eligible.

The President of the Realm may be deposed from office before the expiry of his term by popular plebiscite on resolution of the Reichstag. The resolution of the Reichstag must be passed by a two-thirds majority. Its passage precludes the President from any further exercise of office. Should the popular plebiscite reject deposition, such vote counts as a new election and must be followed by the dissolution of the Reichstag.

The President of the Realm cannot be subject to a criminal prosecution without the consent of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 44.

The President of the Realm cannot hold a seat in the Reichstag during his tenure of office as President.

ARTICLE 45.

The President of the Realm represents the nation in international intercourse. He shall make alliances and other treaties with foreign Powers in the name of the Realm. He shall accredit and receive ambassadors.

Declaration of war and conclusion of peace shall be made by Act of the Realm.

Alliances and treaties with foreign States which have reference to subjects covered by national legislation require the consent of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 46.

The President of the Realm appoints and dismisses officials and officers of the Realm, except in so far as other regulations are laid down by law. He may exercise his rights of appointment and dismissal through the agency of other authorities.

ARTICLE 47.

The supreme command over the whole of the National Defence Forces¹ lies with the President of the Realm.

ARTICLE 48.

Should any Land fail to fulfil the obligations imposed on it by the national constitution or the national laws, the President of the Realm may hold it to such obligations by means of armed force.

Should public order and safety be seriously disturbed or threatened within the national frontiers, the President of the Realm may take the necessary measures to restore public order and safety; in case of need he may use armed force. For this purpose he may, for the time being, declare the fundamental rights (of the citizens) detailed in Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153 wholly or partly in abeyance.

The President of the Realm is bound without any delay whatsoever to communicate to the Reichstag all measures taken by him in virtue of Clause 1 or Clause 2 of this Article. The Reichstag may require such measures to be abrogated.

A Land Government may take temporary measures of the nature indicated in Clause 2, should delay threaten to be dangerous. The President of the Realm or the Reichstag may require such measures to be abrogated.

Further regulations will be laid down in an Act of the Realm.

ARTICLE 49.

The right of pardon for the whole Realm lies with the President of the Realm. Amnesties affecting the whole Realm require the passing of a national law.

¹ Wehrmacht.

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ARTICLE 50.

All orders and decrees issued by the President of the Realm, including those regarding national defence, require the counter-signature of the Chancellor or of the competent National Minister in order to be valid. Responsibility is assumed with the act of counter-signature.

ARTICLE 51.

Should the President of the Realm be prevented from exercising his office, he shall be represented in the first place by the Chancellor. Should it seem probable that he will be so prevented for a longer period, the question of his proxy shall be settled by a national law.

The same regulation applies should the office of President fall vacant for the period preceding a new election.

ARTICLE 52.

The National Government consists of the Chancellor and the National Ministers.

ARTICLE 53.

The President of the Realm appoints and dismisses the Chancellor and, on his recommendation, the National Ministers.

ARTICLE 54.

Chancellor and National Ministers require the confidence of the Reichstag for the exercise of office. Any one of them must resign should the Reichstag pass an express resolution withdrawing its confidence.

ARTICLE 55.

The Chancellor is chairman of the National Government, and conducts its business on the basis of Standing Orders, which shall be drawn up by the National Government and approved by the President of the Realm.

ARTICLE 56.

The Chancellor lays down general policy and bears the responsibility therefor in the Reichstag. Each National Minister shall carry on his Department independently within the lines laid down by the national policy, and shall bear individual responsibility therefor to the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 57.

The National Ministers are bound to submit for discussion and resolution to the National Cabinet all proposed legislation ; further, all questions which either the constitution or the laws require to be so submitted ; also differences of opinion on questions which touch more than one Ministerial Department.

ARTICLE 58.

The National Government shall pass its resolutions by simple majority. Where the voting is equal the Chair has a casting vote.

ARTICLE 59.

The Reichstag is entitled to impeach the President of the Realm, the Chancellor, and the National Ministers in the Supreme Court of Judicature, on the plea that they have knowingly violated the national constitution or a national law. The resolution calling for impeachment must be signed by at least one hundred members of the Reichstag, and requires, in order to be valid, the same majority as is laid down for alterations in the constitution. Further regulations shall be laid down in the law for regulating the Supreme Court of Judicature.¹

SECTION IV**THE REICHSRAT (COUNCIL OF THE REALM)****ARTICLE 60.**

A Reichsrat shall be formed in order to represent the Lands in the legislation and administration of the Realm.

ARTICLE 61.²

Each Land shall have at least one vote in the Reichsrat. In the case of the larger Lands there shall be one vote per million of inhabitants. Any excess over a million which is not less than the total number of the inhabitants of the smallest Land shall be reckoned as a full million. No Land may have more than two-fifths of the total number of votes.

German-Austria shall, after it has joined the German Realm, have the right to participate in the Reichsrat with such a number of votes as shall correspond to the size of its population. Until that time the representatives of German-Austria shall have an advisory voice.

The number of votes shall be determined afresh by the Reichsrat after each universal census.

ARTICLE 62.

No Land may have more than one seat on the Committees which the Reichsrat elects from among its own members.

ARTICLE 63.

The Lands shall be represented in the Reichsrat by members of their Governments. But one-half of the Prussian votes will be provided by the Prussian provincial administrations; a Prussian law shall lay down further regulations.

ARTICLE 64.

The National Government is bound to summon the Reichsrat should one-third of the members of the Reichsrat demand it.

ARTICLE 65.

A member of the National Government shall preside over the meetings of the Reichsrat. The members of the National Government are entitled to take part in the proceedings of the Reichsrat and of its Committees; they are bound to do so if summoned. They are entitled to be heard at their request in the course of the proceedings.

¹ *Staatsgerichtshof.*

² See on this Vol. I, Chap. VIII, pt. 3, § 11, p. 347.

ARTICLE 66.

The National Government, and also each member of the Reichsrat, is entitled to propose resolutions in the Reichsrat.

The Reichsrat shall regulate its procedure by means of Standing Orders.

The plenary sessions of the Reichsrat are public. The Standing Orders may provide for the suspension of publicity in particular discussions.

The voting shall be decided by simple majority.

ARTICLE 67.

The Reichsrat shall be kept informed of the course of current business by the National Ministries. The National Ministries shall consult the competent Committees of the Reichsrat in their deliberations on subjects of importance.

SECTION V

LEGISLATION OF THE REALM

ARTICLE 68.

Proposed Bills shall be introduced by the National Government, or from the body of the House.

National laws shall be passed by the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 69.

Bills proposed by the National Government require the consent of the Reichsrat. Should the National Government and the Reichsrat fail to come to an agreement, the National Government shall be entitled, nevertheless, to introduce its Bill, but is bound to state the dissenting opinion of the Reichsrat. Should the Reichsrat pass a Bill which has failed to obtain the assent of the National Government, the National Government shall be bound to introduce such Bill in the Reichstag together with an explanation of its own views.

ARTICLE 70.

The President of the Realm shall have an accurate copy made of laws constitutionally passed, and shall proclaim them within a month in the Law Gazette of the Realm.

ARTICLE 71.

National laws, unless their text includes regulations to the contrary, shall come into force on the fourteenth day after the day of publication of the Law Gazette in the capital of the Realm.

ARTICLE 72.

Proclamation of a national law shall be deferred for two months on request of one-third of the Reichstag. Laws which the Reichstag and the Reichsrat declare to be urgent may be proclaimed by the President of the Realm notwithstanding this request.

ARTICLE 73.

A law passed by the Reichstag must, before being proclaimed, be submitted to popular plebiscite, should the President of the Realm so decide, within a month.

A law whereof the proclamation has been deferred on request of one-third of the members of the Reichstag must be submitted to popular plebiscite, should one-twentieth of the voters demand it.

A popular plebiscite must further be taken if one-tenth of the voters demand the discussion of a proposed Bill; such popular initiative must be based on a Bill which has been completely drafted. The National Government must inform the Reichstag of such request together with an explanation of its own views. No popular plebiscite shall be held should the Reichstag accept the Bill demanded without amendment.

The President of the Realm is alone entitled to initiate a popular plebiscite concerning the budget, taxation, or payment of officials.

A national law shall lay down further regulations concerning popular plebiscite and popular initiative.

ARTICLE 74.

The Reichsrat has the right to veto laws passed by the Reichstag.

Such veto must be communicated to the Reichstag by the National Government within two weeks after it has been determined upon, and within two further weeks the reasons inspiring it must also be submitted.

Where such veto has been determined upon, the law in question shall be again submitted to the Reichstag for discussion. Should the Reichstag and Reichsrat fail to reach an agreement by this means, the President of the Realm may, within three months, order a popular plebiscite on the subject under discussion. Should the President fail to exercise this right, the Bill is reckoned to have lapsed. Should the Reichstag, by a two-thirds majority, pass a resolution against the veto of the Reichsrat, the President must, within three months, either proclaim the law as passed by the Reichstag, or must order a popular plebiscite.

ARTICLE 75.

No resolution of the Reichstag may be abrogated by popular plebiscite unless a majority of the voters record their votes.

ARTICLE 76.

The constitution may be legislatively amended. Nevertheless, constitutional amendments by the Reichstag are only valid if two-thirds of the accredited members are present, and at least two-thirds of those present record their vote. Further, amendments of the constitution by the Reichsrat require a majority of two-thirds of the recorded votes. Should an amendment of the constitution be determined by means of popular plebiscite, the consent of a majority of the voters is necessary.

Should the Reichstag have determined on an amendment of the con-

stitution against the veto of the Reichsrat, the President shall not be entitled to proclaim such law should the Reichsrat, within two weeks, demand a popular plebiscite.

ARTICLE 77.

The National Government shall, failing legislative enactment to the contrary, issue such general administrative regulations as are necessary for the execution of national laws. It requires for this purpose the assent of the Reichsrat in cases where the execution of a national law rests with the Government of a Land.

SECTION VI ADMINISTRATION OF THE REALM

ARTICLE 78.

The conduct of foreign affairs is exclusively in the hands of the Realm.

The Lands may make treaties with foreign States on matters which fall within their own legislative competence; such treaties require the consent of the Realm.

Agreements with foreign States concerning alteration of the national frontiers shall be concluded by the Realm after the Land affected has given its consent. Frontier alterations are valid only in consequence of a national law, except where it is a question of mere delimitation of frontiers in uninhabited districts.

The Realm shall take the necessary measures and make the necessary arrangements, in agreement with the Lands affected, in order to safeguard such interests of those Lands which are due to their peculiar economic situation or to their geographical contiguity to foreign States.

ARTICLE 79.

National defence is in the hands of the Realm. A national law shall uniformly regulate the military constitution¹ of the German nation, while making due allowance for local characteristics.

ARTICLE 80.

Colonies pertain exclusively to the Realm.

ARTICLE 81.

All German merchant vessels form a united merchant fleet.

ARTICLE 82.

Germany forms a single zone for tariffs and commerce, and is surrounded by a uniform tariff frontier.

The tariff frontier runs concurrently with the frontier towards foreign States. Towards the sea the mainland coast and the coast of the islands belonging to the territory of the Realm shall form the tariff frontier. Deviations may be admitted where the tariff frontier reaches the sea or other waters.

The territory of foreign States, or of parts thereof, may be included within the tariff zone in consequence of treaties or by agreements.

¹ *Wehrverfassung*.

Parts of the tariff zone may be excluded from the tariff zone in consequence of some special necessity. In the case of free harbours such exclusion can be terminated only by constitutional amendment.

Territories excluded from the tariff zone may be joined to a foreign tariff zone in consequence of treaties or by agreements.

All natural products and all articles produced by manufacture or as works of art, which are circulating freely within the Realm, may be carried across the frontiers of the Lands or of the local communities for import, export, or through traffic. A national law may admit exceptions to this regulation.

ARTICLE 83.

The authorities of the Realm shall administer all tariffs and all indirect taxes.

Where the authorities of the Realm administer national taxation, arrangements shall be made which shall permit the Lands to safeguard their peculiar interests in the sphere of agriculture, commerce, manufacture, and industry.

ARTICLE 84.

The Realm shall, by means of legislation, regulate the following questions :

(1) Financial administration within the Lands in so far as required in the interests of the uniform execution of the national fiscal laws.

(2) The appointment of, and powers conferred on, authorities entrusted with the execution of the national fiscal laws.

(3) The regulation of accounts between the Realm and the Lands.

(4) Re-imbursement (to the Lands) for the expenses of administering the national taxation laws.

ARTICLE 85.

All income and expenditure of the Realm must be estimated yearly and incorporated in the Budget.

The Budget shall be passed as an Act before the opening of the financial year.

Expenditure shall normally be voted for a year; in special cases it may also be voted for a longer period. In general, no clause in the Budget is admissible which runs beyond the financial year, or which does not refer to income or expenditure of the Realm or to financial administration.

The Reichstag is not entitled to increase items of expenditure proposed in the Budget or to insert new items of expenditure without the assent of the Reichsrat.

In the absence of the assent of the Reichsrat, the regulations of Article 74 shall be valid.

ARTICLE 86.

The Minister of National Finance shall, with a view to discharging the responsibility of the National Government, submit to the Reichstag and to the Reichsrat an account of all appropriations made out of the national revenues in the year following that in which the appropriations have been made. A national law shall lay down regulations concerning the auditing of such accounts.

ARTICLE 87.

Money may be voted in the form of credits only for extraordinary expenditure and, as a rule, only on account of expenditure for remunerative purposes. Such a vote, as also the assumption of liability in the name of the Realm, must be passed in the form of a national law.

ARTICLE 88.

Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, are exclusively in the hands of the Realm. Stamps are uniform throughout the Realm.

The National Government shall, with the consent of the Reichsrat, issue the regulations fixing regulations and rates for the use of communications. With the consent of the Reichsrat it may delegate this power to the National Minister of Posts.

The National Government shall, with the consent of the Reichsrat, set up an Advisory Committee for Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones, and their rates.

The Realm is alone entitled to make treaties with foreign States concerning communications. (*v. Art. 170.*)

ARTICLE 89.

The Realm shall undertake to acquire as its own property all railways serving public communication and to administer them according to a uniform system.

The rights of the Lands to buy private railways shall be transferred to the Realm on its demand.

ARTICLE 90.

The Realm, in acquiring the railways, shall acquire all rights of expropriation and all sovereign prerogatives in connexion with the railway system. In case of dispute the Supreme Court of Judicature¹ shall decide the extent of such rights.

ARTICLE 91.

The National Government shall, with the consent of the Reichsrat, issue all regulations concerning building, running, and traffic of the railways. With the consent of the Reichsrat it may delegate these powers to the competent National Minister.

ARTICLE 92.

The national railways shall be administered as an independent economic concern notwithstanding that their Budget and their accounts are incorporated in the national Budget and accounts; they shall be responsible for their own expenditure, including interest on, and sinking-fund for, their own debt, and they shall accumulate their own reserve-fund. A special law shall regulate the extent of the sinking-fund and of the reserve-fund, as well as the purposes to which the reserve-fund may be put.

ARTICLE 93.

The National Government shall, with the consent of the Reichsrat, set up Advisory Committees for Railway Communication and Rates over the national railways.

ARTICLE 94.

When the Realm has taken over the railways serving public communication within a particular district, new railways serving public

¹ *Staatsgerichtshof.*

communication may not be built within such district except by the Realm or with consent of the Realm. Should the building of new lines, or the alteration of existing lines, touch on the province of the police authorities of a Land, the railway administration authorities are bound to allow the local authorities to express their opinion before they come to a decision.

Where the Realm has not yet taken over the administration of the railways, it shall be entitled, in virtue of a national law, to build at its own cost, or to commission others to build, if necessary endowing such other persons with the right of expropriation, such railways as shall be deemed essential to public communication or to national defence, notwithstanding that those Lands, through whose territories such railways run, have raised objection; nevertheless, the sovereign prerogatives of the Lands shall not hereby be affected.

Every railway must permit another railway to effect a junction with it at the cost of the latter.

ARTICLE 95.

Railways serving purposes of public communication which are not administered by the Realm are subject to the supervision of the Realm.

Railways subject to the supervision of the Realm shall be constructed and equipped on the same principles as those laid down by the Realm (for the national railways). They must be maintained in good working order and must be extended to meet traffic requirements. Passenger and goods traffic must be served according to their requirements.

In regulating rates, the aim must be to maintain uniform and low rates.

ARTICLE 96.

All railways, including those not serving purposes of public communication, must accede to requirements of the Realm made in the interests of national defence.

ARTICLE 97.

The Realm shall undertake to acquire as its own property the waterways serving purposes of public communication, and to administer them.

When the Realm has taken over the waterways, new waterways serving the purposes of public communication shall not be constructed or extended except by the Realm or with its consent.

In administering, extending, or constructing waterways, the Realm shall co-operate with the Lands to safeguard the requirements of agriculture and of irrigation. Regard shall also be had to the further advancement both of agriculture and of irrigation.

Every waterways administration must permit another inland waterways system to effect a junction with it at the cost of the latter. The same obligation shall apply to the construction of connexions between waterways and railways.

In taking over the waterways the Realm acquires the right to expropriate, to fix rates, and to administer the river police system.

The undertakings of the River Development Companies in regard to the natural waterways of the Rhine, Weser, and Elbe shall be taken over by the Realm.

ARTICLE 98.

The National Government shall, with the consent of the Reichsrat, issue further detailed regulations for setting up Advisory Committees to co-operate in the administration of waterways.

ARTICLE 99.

No dues may be levied over natural waterways except such as are applied to construction, plant, or other works facilitating communication. They must not exceed, in the case of State or municipal construction, the costs incurred by building and upkeep. Costs incurred by the building and upkeep of works which do not exclusively facilitate communication but are also designed for other purposes, may only be defrayed out of dues levied on shipping in a proportionate ratio. Interest and sinking-fund for the capital involved are reckoned as part of the cost of construction.

The regulations of the preceding clause shall apply to dues levied on artificial waterways and on constructions in connexion with them or in harbours.

In the administration of inland canals it shall be permissible to levy shipping dues on a basis of the total combined costs of a canal, a river, or of a whole waterways system.

These regulations shall also apply to floating constructions on the navigable waterways.

The Realm alone is entitled to levy heavier dues on foreign ships and their freights than are levied on German ships and their freights.

The Realm is entitled, by means of legislation, to obtain contributions from users of the waterways by other methods, in order to serve the upkeep and extension of the German waterways system.

ARTICLE 100.

A national law may include as responsible for part of the cost of upkeep and construction of inland waterways any person benefiting, otherwise than by navigation, from the construction of dams in cases where more than one Land has participated in the costs of construction or where such costs have been borne by the Realm.

ARTICLE 101.

The Realm shall undertake to acquire and administer all navigation lights, in particular beacons, light-ships, buoys, and land beacons. When the Realm has taken these over, new navigation lights shall not be constructed or extended except by the Realm or with its consent.

SECTION VII**JUSTICE****ARTICLE 102.**

Judges are independent and subject to the law only.

ARTICLE 103.

The normal judicature shall be administered through the Court of the Realm and the Courts of the Lands.

ARTICLE 104.

Judges of the normal judicature shall be appointed for life. They may not be deposed from their office, either permanently or temporarily, nor may they be transferred to another bench, nor may they be pensioned off against their will, except in consequence of a judicial decision, and then only for the reasons, and in the form, laid down by the laws. Legislation may lay down a retiring age, on reaching which judges must accept a pension.

This clause shall not affect suspensions from office carried out in virtue of a legal enactment.

Should alterations be introduced in the system of courts or of circuits, the judicial administrations of the Lands may force judges to accept transference to another bench, or pensions, but only together with payment of full salary. These clauses do not apply to commercial judges, assessors, or jurors.

ARTICLE 105.

Extraordinary courts are forbidden. Every person has the right to demand that he be produced before the competent court. Legal enactments concerning military courts and courts-martial are not hereby affected. Military courts of honour are abolished.

ARTICLE 106.

The system of military courts shall be abolished except in time of war and on board men-of-war. A national law shall lay down further regulations.

ARTICLE 107.

Legislative Acts shall regulate the obligatory setting up of administrative courts in Realm and Lands for the protection of the individual against decrees and ordinances of the administrative authorities.

ARTICLE 108.

A national law shall set up a Supreme Court of Judicature¹ for the German Realm.

SECOND CHAPTER**FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES
OF CITIZENS****SECTION I****THE INDIVIDUAL****ARTICLE 109.**

All Germans are equal in the eyes of the law.

Men and women have, as citizens, fundamentally the same civil rights and duties.

Public privileges or disadvantages arising out of birth or rank shall be abolished. Titles of nobility count only as part of a name ; they may no longer be conferred.

¹ *Staatsgerichtshof.*

Only such titles may be conferred as indicate an office or a profession ; academic rank is not hereby affected.

The State¹ may confer no orders or insignia.

No German may accept titles or orders from a foreign State.

ARTICLE 110.

Nationality of the Realm and of the Lands shall be acquired and lost according to the regulations of a national law. Every national of a Land is at the same time a national of the Realm.

Every German has, in every Land, the same rights and duties as the national of that Land.

ARTICLE 111.

All Germans have the right of free movement throughout the whole Realm. Every German has the right of staying and of settling in any part of the Realm he please ; he has the right of acquiring property there and of earning his livelihood. Exceptions shall require a national law.

ARTICLE 112.

Every German is entitled to emigrate to a foreign country. Emigration may not be restricted except in virtue of a national law.

All nationals have the right to the protection of the Realm both within and without the Realm, as against a foreign country.

No German may be handed over to a foreign Government for prosecution or punishment.²

ARTICLE 113.

The alien-speaking parts of the Realm shall not be obstructed, either by legislative or by administrative means, in the free development of their national peculiarities, especially in the use of their mother tongue in educational establishments, as well as regards their internal administration and the administration of courts of justice.

ARTICLE 114.

Liberty of person is inviolable. Restrictions on, or deprivation of, personal liberty may not be imposed by the public authorities except in virtue of a law.

Persons who have been deprived of their liberty must at latest be informed on the following day what authority has ordered such deprivation of liberty and on what account it has made such order ; they must have immediate opportunity of lodging objections against such deprivation of liberty.

ARTICLE 115.

Every German has complete control over his house, which is inviolable. Exceptions are only admissible when the law so provides.

¹ State (*Staat*) is used throughout in the generic sense to cover 'Realm' or 'Land'.

² See Art. 178, *infra*.

ARTICLE 116.

Acts are punishable only if they have been designated by law as punishable before they were committed.

ARTICLE 117.

Secrecy of postal packets, post, telegraph, and telephone secrecy are inviolable. Exceptions shall be regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 118.

Every German is entitled to express his opinion in word, writing, print, pictorially, or by any other means, within the limits imposed by the law. He may not be obstructed in this right by any contract relating to his work or his employment; no disadvantage may be imposed on him by any person, should he make use of his right.

There is no censorship; nevertheless, regulations may be laid down by law with regard to cinemas. Legislative action is further admissible for the suppression of obscene or indecent literature, as well as for the protection of young persons at public performances or exhibitions.

SECTION II THE LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

ARTICLE 119.

Marriage, as being the foundation of family life and of the preservation and the increase of the nation, shall be under the special protection of the constitution. It rests on the equality of the two sexes.

The State and the municipalities shall undertake to perfect, purify, and further on a social basis the purity of family life. Prolific families are entitled to claim proportionate compensatory treatment.

Motherhood is entitled to the protection and care of the State.

ARTICLE 120.

The education of their children with a view to physical, spiritual, and social efficiency is the supreme duty and natural right of the parents; the State as community shall supervise their activities.

ARTICLE 121.

Legislation shall provide for illegitimate children the same opportunities for physical, spiritual, and social development as are provided for legitimate children.

ARTICLE 122.

Young persons shall be protected against exploitation and against moral, spiritual, and physical neglect. The necessary arrangements shall be instituted by the State and local authorities.

Force used in the imposition of protective measures must rest on the basis of a law.

ARTICLE 123.

All Germans are entitled to meet together, peaceably and unarmed, without previous notice or special permission.

A national law may impose an obligation to notify open-air meetings, and, in case of immediate danger to public security, may forbid them.

ARTICLE 124.

All Germans are entitled to form associations or unions for purposes which are not in contravention of the penal law. This right may not be limited by preventive measures. The same regulations hold good for religious unions and associations.

Every association may acquire corporate rights in accordance with the regulations of the Civil Code. Corporate rights may not be refused to any association on the ground that its aims are of a political, social-political, or religious nature.

ARTICLE 125.

Free and secret voting is guaranteed. Further regulations shall be laid down by the election laws.

ARTICLE 126.

Every German is entitled to address a written petition or complaint to the competent authority or the people's representatives. This right may be exercised both by the individual or by several persons in common.

ARTICLE 127.

Local authorities and associations of local authorities have the right to administer their own affairs within the limits laid down by the law.

ARTICLE 128.

All nationals without exception are eligible for public office in accordance with the law, and in proportion to their capacity and achievement.

All exceptional measures against women officials are abolished.

A national law shall lay down principles as to the relations of officials to the State.

ARTICLE 129.

The engagement of officials shall be for life, unless regulations to the contrary are laid down by law. Pensions and the pensions of dependants shall be regulated by law. Rights duly acquired by officials are inviolable. Officials may have recourse to legal process for recovering their financial claims.

Officials shall not be dismissed from office, nor temporarily nor permanently pensioned off, nor transferred to another office to which a lesser salary attaches, except in virtue of regulations and by methods which have been authorized by law.

Every official censure must be subject to appeal and liable to revocation. Unfavourable remarks may not be entered in the personal record of any official unless he has had opportunity to reply to them. Officials have the right to examine their own record.

The inviolability of duly acquired rights and the right to have recourse to legal process for the recovery of financial claims are especially guaranteed to professional soldiers. In all other respects their position shall be regulated by a national law.

ARTICLE 130.

Officials are servants of the community, not of a party.

Freedom of political opinion and freedom of meeting shall be secured to all officials.

National legislative enactment shall lay down more detailed regulations for securing to officials special vocational representation.

ARTICLE 131.

Should an official, in exercising his public authority, be guilty of a breach of his constitutional duty towards a third party, responsibility therefor shall fundamentally attach to the State or the body employing such official. They may reserve the right of retributory measures against the official. Recourse to an ordinary court of law must not be excluded.

Further regulations shall be laid down by appropriate legal measures.

ARTICLE 132.

Every German is bound to undertake honorary duties in accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 133.

Every German is bound to give personal service on behalf of the State or the local authority in accordance with the law.

The Military service shall be regulated according to the enactments of the Law of National Defence of the Realm. The same law shall determine how far any citizen's fundamental rights shall be restricted for members of the National Defence Force¹ in the interests of the fulfilment of their duties and of discipline.

ARTICLE 134.

All citizens without exception shall contribute proportionately to their means to all public burdens, in accordance with the law.

SECTION III**RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS BODIES****ARTICLE 135.**

All persons living in the Realm enjoy entire liberty of faith and of conscience. The constitution guarantees the undisturbed practice of religion, which is under the protection of the State. General legislation shall not hereby be affected.

ARTICLE 136.

The free exercise of religious practices shall neither condition nor limit the civil and constitutional rights and duties of citizens.

Enjoyment of civil and constitutional rights and admission to public office are independent of religious faith.

No person is bound to reveal his religious convictions. The public authorities may not inquire into any person's membership of a religious body except where rights and duties are involved on account of such membership or except when a legally instituted statistical census makes such inquiry necessary.

¹ *Wehrmacht.*

No person may be forced to take part in any religious act or ceremony or to be present at any religious exercise or to adopt any religious form of oath.

ARTICLE 137.

There is no State Church.

Freedom of association in religious bodies is guaranteed. No limits shall be imposed on the formation of religious associations within the Realm.

Every religious association shall order and administer its own affairs independently within the limits of the law. Such associations shall bestow their offices without the co-operation of the State or the local authorities.

Religious associations shall acquire a juridic personality according to the general regulations laid down in the Civil Code.

Religious associations shall retain the status of public corporations if they have previously enjoyed it. Other religious associations may, on demand, obtain a similar status, should their constitution and their membership give guarantee of their permanent character. Should several such public corporate bodies join to form one union, such union is itself a public corporate body.

Religious associations which are public corporate bodies are entitled to impose taxes on their members on the basis of the rate assessments and in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Lands.

Associations, whose aim is to promote the cult of a common view of life, shall be on a par with religious associations.

The Legislatures of the Lands shall lay down any further regulations required for the carrying out of this Article.

ARTICLE 138.

The Legislatures of the Lands shall discharge any liabilities due to religious bodies in virtue of a law, a contract, or a legal title. The Realm shall lay down general principles on this matter.

The property of religious bodies and religious associations shall be guaranteed, as also shall be their rights in respect of their institutions, foundations, and other funds devoted to purposes of worship, education, and social welfare.

ARTICLE 139.

Sundays and feast days recognized by the State are maintained as holidays and days of spiritual refreshment.

ARTICLE 140.

Members of the National Defence Force must be granted sufficient free time to enable them to fulfil their religious duties.

ARTICLE 141.

In so far as a need of religious services and of religious ministration makes itself felt in the army, in hospitals, prisons, or other public institutions, admission may be accorded to religious associations. But in this there shall be no coercion.

SECTION IV

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

ARTICLE 142.

Art and knowledge and their instruction are free. The State guarantees to protect them and co-operates in promoting them.

ARTICLE 143.

The education of youth shall be in the hands of public institutions. Realm, Lands, and local authorities shall co-operate in forming such institutions.

The training of teachers shall be uniformly regulated for the whole Realm according to the general principles laid down for higher education. Teachers in public schools have the rights and duties of State officials.

ARTICLE 144.

The whole of education is under the supervision of the State; the State may cause the local authorities to co-operate herein. The schools shall be supervised by Chief Departmental officers who are experts.

ARTICLE 145.

Education is universally compulsory. To this end are instituted elementary schools covering at least eight years of attendance, and continuation schools in connexion with these up to the completed eighteenth year. Education and educational apparatus in elementary and continuation schools are free of charge.

ARTICLE 146.

Public education shall be organically developed. The primary school, which shall be common to all, shall lead on to the secondary and higher school system. The basis of this upward organization shall be the preparation for a variety of vocations; the basis for accepting a child in a certain school shall be its capacities and inclinations, and not the financial or social position of its parents or their religious beliefs.

Nevertheless, on demand of the parents or guardians, elementary schools on the basis of their particular religious faith or their particular views shall be set up within a locality, always provided that the regular school programme in the sense of Clause 1 be not hereby pre-
...:...:... The wishes of the parents and guardians shall receive the
legislatures of the Lands shall lay
s of a national law.

Realm, Lands, and local authorities shall provide funds to enable poorer members of the community to attend the secondary and higher schools; in particular, they shall provide maintenance grants for the parents of children who are deemed suitable to receive further education in the secondary and higher schools for the period of such education.

ARTICLE 147.

Private schools, if substituted for public schools, require the consent of the State and must conform to Land law. The consent of the State must be given if such private schools are not inferior to the public schools in respect of their educational aims and arrangements, and in respect of the professional standard of their teaching staffs, and if no distinctions

are made between scholar and scholar on account of the financial position of their parents. Consent shall be refused if the financial and legal position of the teaching staff be not sufficiently secured.

Private elementary schools may only be set up if a minority of parents or guardians, to whose wishes in accordance with Clause 2 of Article 146 attention is bound to be paid, have no public elementary school organized in accordance with their faith or views, or if the educational administrative authorities recognize that special educational interests are involved.

Private preparatory schools are abolished.

The legal status of private schools, which do not take the place of public schools, remains unchanged.

ARTICLE 148.

All schools shall aim at inculcating moral character, a sense of civic duty, personal and professional efficiency in the spirit of German nationality and of the reconciliation of peoples.

The teacher in public schools shall take into account the duty of avoiding offence to those of contrary opinion.

Instruction in the duties of a citizen and technical instruction are part of the curricula of the schools. Every scholar shall, on leaving school, receive a copy of the constitution.

Realm, Lands, and local authorities shall encourage popular education, including the People's Colleges.

ARTICLE 149.

Religious instruction is an ordinary part of the curriculum except in the non-religious (secular) schools. It shall be regulated on the basis of the laws affecting school education. The giving of religious instruction shall be carried out in harmony with the principles of the religious association concerned, without prejudice to the control of the State.

The giving of religious instruction and the instituting of Church ceremonies shall be dependent on a declaration from the teacher that he consents to either ; the acceptance of religious instruction and participation in Church ceremonies and acts shall be dependent on a declaration of consent from those persons responsible for a child's religious education.

The theological faculties in the Universities shall be maintained.

ARTICLE 150.

Objects of artistic, historic, natural, or picturesque interest shall be under the protection and care of the State.

The duty of preventing the export of German artistic treasures to foreign countries lies in the hands of the Realm.

SECTION V THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

ARTICLE 151.

The economic system must be so arranged that justice shall be maintained and that all men shall have a sufficient livelihood assured to them. Within these limits economic freedom shall be secured to each individual.

Legal compulsion is only admissible in order to maintain rights which have been threatened or to secure an important public interest.

Freedom of trade and of manufacture shall be guaranteed on the basis of the national laws.

ARTICLE 152.

In economic transactions freedom of contract shall prevail subject to the law.

Usury is forbidden. Contracts which violate public morality are null and void.

ARTICLE 153.

Property is guaranteed by the constitution. Its meaning (*Inhalt*) and the restrictions to be imposed on it shall be a subject of legislative interpretation.

Expropriation can only be undertaken in the common interest and on the basis of a law. Adequate compensation shall be paid, unless otherwise provided by a national law. Should any dispute arise as to the amount of compensation, recourse shall be had to the ordinary courts, unless otherwise provided by a national law. Property of the Lands, the local authorities, or public associations can only be expropriated by the Realm and by payment of compensation. Property imposes obligations. Its uses by the owner must at the same time serve the common good.

ARTICLE 154.

The right of inheritance shall be guaranteed in accordance with the Civil Code. The laws shall determine the proportion of inherited property accruing to the State.

ARTICLE 155.

Distribution and cultivation of the soil shall be supervised by the State in such manner as to ensure that no abuses take place, and that efforts are made to secure a healthy lodging for every German, and suitable homes for each German family, especially for those prolific in children, in which they can live and work. In drawing up a housing code special consideration shall be paid to the claims of those who have fought in the war.

Landed estates may be expropriated if it is required for housing needs, or for the encouragement of a settlement or reclamation policy, or in the interests of the improvement of agriculture. Entails shall be abolished.

The owner of the soil is bound to cultivate and make use of his land, in the common interest. Increase of value arising without any expenditure of work or of capital shall be utilized for the common good.

All riches of the soil and all natural resources, which can be turned to economic uses, shall be under the supervision of the State. Private royalties shall, by law, be transferred to the State.

ARTICLE 156.

The Realm shall be entitled by legal enactment, without prejudice to the payment of compensation, and with the appropriate application of the regulations laid down concerning compensation, to transfer to public ownership private businesses suitable for socialization. It shall be entitled to name itself, the Lands, or the local authority as partners

in the administration of such business undertakings or associations, or in any other way to assure to itself a predominant influence therein.

The Realm shall further be entitled, in case of urgent necessity and in the interest of the national economy, by means of legislative enactment, to oblige business undertakings or associations to combine, on the basis of an autonomous administration, with a view to securing the co-operation of all the productive forces of the nation, to associating employers and employed in the administration and in regulating the production, manufacture, distribution, employment, prices, as also import and export of goods, on principles of public economy.

Distributive and productive co-operative societies and their federations may, on their own demand, and with due regard to their constitution and special characteristics, be incorporated in the public economic system.

ARTICLE 157.

Labour is under the special protection of the Realm. The Realm shall draw up a uniform labour code.

ARTICLE 158.

Intellectual work, the rights of discoverers, inventors, and artists, shall be under the care and protection of the Realm.

International agreements will secure validity and protection in foreign countries for German intellectual, artistic, and technical creations.

ARTICLE 159.

Freedom of association with the object of guaranteeing and improving conditions of work and of employment shall be secured to all individuals and all professions. All compacts or measures which seek to limit or obstruct this freedom are illegal.

ARTICLE 160.

Any person occupying the position of employee or worker is entitled to have at his disposal such free time as is necessary in order to avail himself of his rights as citizen, and, in so far as serious injury is not thereby done to his employment, such free time as is necessary in order to discharge honorary public offices conferred on him. His payment for his services shall be determined by legislation.

ARTICLE 161.

The Realm, with the controlling co-operation of insured persons,¹ shall create a comprehensive system of insurance with a view to the maintenance of health and of efficiency, to the protection of motherhood, to providing against the economic consequences of old age, infirmity, and change of circumstances.

ARTICLE 162.

The Realm shall support the principle of international regulation of the legal rights of workers, with the object of securing a uniform minimum of social rights to the working classes of mankind.

ARTICLE 163.

Every German is bound, as a moral obligation, without prejudice to his personal liberty, to make such use of his intellectual and physical capacities as shall be required for the common good.

¹ *Unter massgebender Mitwirkung der Versicherten.*

Every German shall be provided with the possibility of earning his living by Economic labour. In so far as suitable employment cannot be found for him, provision shall be made for his necessary maintenance. Further regulations shall be laid down in special national laws.

ARTICLE 164.

Legislative and administrative measures shall be taken to encourage an independent middle class in agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, and to protect it against exploitation and extortion.

ARTICLE 165.

Workers and employees are entitled to co-operate, in common with the employers and on a basis of equality, in regulating wage and work conditions and in furthering the general economic development of productive forces. The organizations of either side and their agreements shall be recognized.

Workers and employees shall, in order to maintain their social and economic interests, receive a legally recognized representation in Workers' Councils, and also in District Workers' Councils organized by economic spheres, and in a Central Workers' Council.

District Workers' Councils and the Central Workers' Council shall meet the employers' representatives and the representatives of groups of the population affected in District Economic Councils and in a Central Economic Council, in order to carry out their Economic functions and to co-operate in putting the Socialization Laws into force. District Economic Councils and the Central Economic Council shall be so constituted as to include representatives of all important professional groups in proportion to their economic and social importance.

Drafts of bills on social and economic questions which are of fundamental importance must be submitted by the Government of the Realm to the Central Economic Council for consideration before being introduced. The Central Economic Council is entitled itself to initiate such bills. Should the Government of the Realm not agree, it must, nevertheless, submit such draft to the Reichstag together with an explanation of its own point of view. The Central Economic Council may appoint one of its members to support the bill in the Reichstag.

Rights of control and of administration may be transferred to Workers' and Economic Councils within the spheres assigned to each.

The duty of developing the Workers' and Economic Councils, of assigning to them their functions, and of regulating their relations to other bodies concerned with the self-administration of society, is exclusively in the hands of the Realm.

TEMPORARY CLAUSES AND CONCLUDING CLAUSES

ARTICLE 166.

Until the Supreme Administrative Court has been constituted, the Supreme Court shall appoint to the court of electoral revision.

ARTICLE 167.

The provisions of Clauses 3 to 6 of Article 18 shall only come into force two years after the constitution has been proclaimed.

TEMPORARY AND CONCLUDING CLAUSES 377

ARTICLE 168.

Until the National Law referred to in Article 63 shall have been promulgated, but at longest for the period of one year, the Prussian votes in the Reichsrat may be exercised by members of the Government.

ARTICLE 169.

The Government of the Realm shall determine at what date the regulation laid down in Clause 1 of Article 88 shall come into force.

Collection and administration of tariff dues and excise may, on their demand, be left to the Lands for a corresponding transition period.

ARTICLE 170.

The postal and telegraph departments of Bavaria and Würtemberg shall be transferred to the Realm at latest on April 1st, 1921.

In so far as agreement concerning the terms of the transfer has not been reached by October 1st, 1920, decision shall lie with the Supreme Court of Judicature.

Existing rights and responsibilities of Bavaria and Würtemberg shall remain in force until the date of transfer. Nevertheless, postal and telegraphic communications with foreign countries shall be exclusively regulated by the Realm.

ARTICLE 171.

State railways, waterways, and navigation lights shall be transferred to the Realm at latest on April 1st, 1921.

In so far as agreement concerning the terms of transfer has not been reached by October 1st, 1920, decision shall lie with the Supreme Court of Judicature.

ARTICLE 172.

Until the law constituting a Supreme Court of Judicature¹ comes into force its functions shall be carried out by a Senate of seven members, of whom four shall be chosen by the Reichstag and three by the Supreme Court² from among their own members. It shall regulate its own procedure.

ARTICLE 173.

Until a national law has been promulgated in accordance with the regulations of Article 138, existing grants of the State to the religious associations in virtue of laws, contracts, or titles shall remain in force.

ARTICLE 174.

Until the national law referred to in Clause 2 of Article 146 shall have been promulgated the current laws shall remain in force. The national law shall pay special regard to those districts where schools which make no religious distinctions are recognized by law.

ARTICLE 175.

The regulations of Article 109 are not valid in reference to orders and insignia which have been bestowed for service during the years of the 1914-1919 war.

ARTICLE 176.

All public officers and members of the National Defence Force must take the oath to this constitution. The President of the Realm shall regulate further proceedings.

¹ *Staatsgerichtshof*.

² *Reichsgericht* (i.e. old Imperial Supreme Court).

ARTICLE 177.

Where the existing law makes provision for the formula of an oath by including a religious formula, an individual may also be legally sworn in such a way that he omit the religious formula and pronounce the words: I swear. In all other respects the legal oath remains unaffected.

ARTICLE 178.

The constitution of the German Empire, dated April 16th, 1871, and the Act for the Provisional Government, dated February 10th, 1919, are abolished.

The rest of the laws and ordinances of the Realm remain in force, in so far as consonant with this constitution. The conditions of the Peace Treaty signed at Versailles on June 28th, 1919, are not affected by this constitution.¹

Orders legally issued by the public authorities in virtue of previously existing laws remain valid until replaced by further orders or legislation.

ARTICLE 179.

In so far as reference is made in laws or ordinances to regulations or to institutions which have been abolished in virtue of this constitution, there shall be substituted therefor the corresponding regulations or institutions of this constitution. In particular the Reichstag shall be substituted for the Constituent Assembly,² the Reichsrat for the States' Committee,³ and for the President of the Realm, who was elected under the Act for the Provisional Government, a President of the Realm elected in virtue of this constitution.

The function of issuing ordinances belonging to the States' Committee in virtue of previous regulations shall pass to the Government of the Realm; in issuing ordinances the Government of the Realm shall require the consent of the Reichsrat as laid down in this constitution.

ARTICLE 180.

Until the first Reichstag, the Constituent Assembly² shall count as Reichstag. Until the first President of the Realm shall enter upon office, his functions shall be carried out by the President elected under the Act for the Provisional Government.

ARTICLE 181.

The German nation has determined upon and passed this constitution through its Constituent Assembly. It comes into force on the day of its proclamation.⁴

¹ Cf. Art. 61 and 112.

² *Die Nationalversammlung*.

³ *Staaten-Ausschuss*.

⁴ This Constitution was accepted at Weimar by the Assembly on July 31st, 1919. The final date of authorization was August 11th, 1919, when it was signed at Schwarzburg by President Ebert and eight ministers.

Further Note on Reich. At Versailles on the 28th June 1919 the rendering *république allemande* for *Deutsches Reich* was objected to by Müller, then Foreign Minister, and *l'Empire allemande* substituted. A subsequent treaty, however, contains the expression *république allemande*.

OFFICIAL INDEX TO THE TREATY OF PEACE¹

BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS AND GERMANY,
SIGNED AT VERSAILLES, JUNE 28, 1919

IN this Index each section of the Treaty of Peace has been analysed and re-assembled in alphabetical form. With minor exceptions the original arrangement of the Treaty has been followed, so that under any one of the main headings will be found collected all the materials coming under it. Where other subjects occur or run across the main headings these form cross headings which consist largely of references back to the main classification.

Some subjects will thus be found indexed fully under their own headings and others will be found merely by cross references. In many cases a combination of these methods has been found desirable.

The Index thus compiled is designed to give a bird's-eye view of the Treaty as a whole and to indicate, without reference to the Treaty itself, the broad principles of the settlement.

All matters concerning particular persons, places, authorities, &c., will be found under the appropriate headings. Thus all matters concerning the Central Rhine Commission in general will be found under "Navigation : Rhine : Central Rhine Commission." The heading "Central Rhine Commission" refers enquirers to "Navigation : Rhine." It also gives a cross reference to "Alsace-Lorraine" because the latter heading deals with a particular activity of the Commission. In this manner much repetition has been avoided, though at the same time care has been taken to make the cross references self-explanatory; for instance, the heading "Moselle" gives merely "see Navigation : Rhine : Central Rhine Commission : Jurisdiction," but this entry shows that the question of the jurisdiction of the Central Rhine Commission over the Moselle is involved.

Where not stated any obligation mentioned is understood to be an obligation on Germany.

The references to the Treaty are to Parts (Roman numerals), sections (Roman numerals), Articles (Arabic figures), and in some cases to Annexes (ann.). N.B. In a few instances it has been necessary to give a page-reference, in which case the number is preceded by p.

The following table gives the scheme of references:—

Part.	Section.	Article or Annex.
X	X	282 <i>or</i>
X	II	Ann. I (1)

ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations have been used:—

A. <u>and</u> <u>or</u> A.P...	..	..	Allied <u>and</u> <u>or</u> Associated Powers.
A. <u>and</u> <u>or</u> A.S...	..	..	" " " States.
Ann...	..	..	Annex or Annexes.
H.C.P.	..	..	High Contracting Parties.
L. of N.	..	..	League of Nations.
P.A. <u>and</u> <u>or</u> A.P.	..	..	Principal Allied <u>and</u> <u>or</u> Associated Powers.

¹ Treaty Series (1920), No. 1 (Cmd. 516).

OFFICIAL INDEX TO THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

A.

ADOR, GUSTAVE. President of Swiss Republic.

Nominates assessor of certain claims. X, IV, Ann. 4.

See PROPERTY, RIGHTS, AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE : assets, enemy.

Nominates President of Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in certain circumstances. X, VI, 304.

See ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL, MIXED : members.

AERIAL. *See also AIR.*

AERIAL NAVIGATION.

Certificates and licences by A. and A.P. recognised in Germany. XI, —, 317.

Commercial air traffic—most-favoured-nation treatment for A. and A.P. XI, —, 318.

Freedom of passage, transit, landing for aircraft of A. and A.P., subject only to regulations applicable to Germans. XI, —, 313–316.

Freedom of passage, transit, and landing in Germany for A. and A.P. until evacuation of German territory. V, III, 200.

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AERONAUTICAL COMMISSION. *See COMMISSIONS OF CONTROL, Inter-Allied.*

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LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

AGENT. *See DEBTS, ENEMY* : Arbitral Tribunal.

AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE AT ROME.

Convention of June 7, 1905, renewed between Germany and A. and A.P. parties thereto. X, II, 282.

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AIR. *See also AERIAL NAVIGATION.*

AIR CLAUSES. V, III, 198–202.

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Legislation and administration must conform within three months of Treaty coming into force. V, v, 211.

AIRCRAFT.

Manufacture and importation of aircraft, aircraft engines, and parts forbidden in Germany for six months after Treaty comes into force. V, III, 201.

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AERIAL NAVIGATION.

AIR FORCES : Germany.

AIR FORCES.

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A. and A.P. not to employ Germans as instructors. V, I, 179.

Germans not to enrol or instruct in any. Ditto.

Germany not to send military, naval, or air missions. V, I, 179.

Germany :—

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Dirigibles :—

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To be maintained until surrendered. V, III, 202.

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1,000 may be kept up to October 1, 1919. Ditto.

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Seaplanes: 100 may be kept up to October 1, 1919, for mine spotting, but must not carry arms, &c. V, III, 198.

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Ditto. Delivery must be completed within three months of Treaty coming into force. Ditto.

See also—

ARMAMENTS.

AERIAL NAVIGATION.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: war.

ALGECIRAS ACT, 1906.

Germany renounces rights. IV, v, 141.

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On occupations, professions, trade and industry for nationals of A. and A.P.: most-favoured-nation treatment. X, I, 276.

Taxation of nationals of A. and A.P., their property, &c., including companies and associations: national treatment. X, I, 276.

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French Government may cancel within six months of coming into force of Treaty. Ditto.

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- (1) Metallurgical establishments.
- (2) Mines, quarries, and connected enterprises.

- (3) Public domain and services, such as railways, waterways, waterworks, gasworks, electric power. III, v, 70.

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Original member of the L. of N. I, Ann.

Signatory of the Treaty.

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Original member of the L. of N. I, Ann.

Signatory of the Treaty.

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HONDURAS.

Original member of the L. of N. I, Ann.

Signatory of the Treaty.

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France will notify Germany of nature and amount subject to average 1911-1913. X, I, 268.

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Bounty or surtax in favour of German ports or vessels not to be established against ports or vessels of A. and A.P. XII, I, 323.

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Poland :—

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ITALY.

Original member of the L. of N. I, Ann.

Signatory of the Treaty.

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Number and amount determined within one year of Treaty coming into force by arbitrator nominated by United States. XI, II, 357.

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Convention of Mannheim: A. and A.P. may arrive at understanding with Netherlands; Germany will accede. XII, II, 354.

Convention of Mannheim of 1868, with Final Protocol, continued from Treaty coming into force with modifications. XII, II, 354.

Ditto, ditto: in case of conflict, General Convention (Article 338) prevails. Ditto.

Ditto, ditto: revision by Central Rhine Commission, *q.v.* Ditto.

Equality :—

Free navigation for vessels and crews of all nations not impeded by Convention of Mannheim or other. XII, II, 356.

Vessels of all nations and their cargoes have same rights as those of Rhine navigation. XII, II, 356.

Power from works :—

Central Rhine Commission to scrutinise schemes. XII, II, 358.

Disputes settled by arbitration. XII, II, 358.

France has exclusive rights between extreme points of French frontiers, subject to payment to Germany, in money or power, of value of half production. XII, II, 358.

France has exclusive right to carry out works between extreme points of French frontiers. Ditto.

Not to interfere with navigation or involve increase of tolls. XII, II, 358.

NAVIGATION (*contd.*)—Rhine (*contd.*)—

Regulations and conditions: Article 22 of Convention of Mannheim applied only to vessels registered on Rhine; Central Rhine Commission to decide for other vessels. XII, II, 356.

Rhine-Meuse Canal :—

Administration same as Rhine. XII, II, 361.

Belgium has right to take water from Rhine, but not to interfere with navigation or involve increase of tolls. XII, II, 358.

Cost divided by Central Rhine Commission among States crossed. XII, II, 361.

Deep-draught: if Belgium decides to construct within 25 years of Treaty coming into force, Germany to construct her share, as settled by Belgium and Central Rhine Commission. Ditto.

German works carried out by Central Rhine Commission, if Germany fails, Commission giving two months' notice, subject to indemnities from Germany. Ditto.

Schemes for taking water from Rhine, subject to scrutiny of Central Rhine Commission. XII, II, 358.

Water for navigation or irrigation canals:

Central Rhine Commission to scrutinise schemes. Ditto.

France has right to take between extreme points of French frontiers, with right to execute works on German bank. XII, II, 358.

Not to interfere with navigation or involve increase of toll. XII, II, 358.

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Rhine-Meuse Canal.

Works :—

Approval of Central Rhine Commission necessary. XII, II, 359.

Germany recognises French rights on right bank to build weirs, &c. XII, II, 358.

Germany will indemnify proprietors on right bank. Ditto.

Germany to give France, within one month of Treaty coming into force, projects, plans, &c., for regulation of Rhine drawn up or received by Governments of Alsace-Lorraine or Baden. Ditto.

Germany will not allow canals or derivations on right bank opposite French frontiers. XII, II, 358.

Switzerland shall have similar rights if she demands and Central Rhine Commission approves. Ditto.

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See also—

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Elbe.

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PORTS, WATERWAYS, RAILWAYS: reciprocity, revision.

PRUSSIA, EAST: Marienwerder plebiscite: Vistula.

Rivers, international: Elbe, Oder, Niemen, Danube:—

Elbe, Vltava, Oder, Niemen, Danube, parts of, with their navigable systems and canals, declared international rivers. XII, II, 331.

Cession of tugs, vessels, and material:—

Amount of credit entailed, settled by arbitrator, set against sums due by Germany. XII, II, 339.

Germany to indemnify proprietors. Ditto.

Number and amount determined by arbitrator nominated by United States. Ditto.

To A and A.P. concerned within three months of notification. Ditto.

Charges, varying, may be levied on different sections for upkeep of navigation only, and must not ordinarily involve examination of cargo. XII, II, 333.

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No other dues to be levied along course or at mouth. XII, II, 335.

Reservation for octroi and charges for services rendered. Ditto.

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Convention, General :—

Germany undertakes to adhere.
XII, II, 338.

To be drawn up by A. and A.P. and approved by L. of N. Ditto.

Equality :—

For nationals, property, flags of all Powers. XII, II, 332.

German vessels require authority of A. or A.P. before plying between its ports with passengers or goods. Ditto.

Transit :—

Exempt from Customs formalities where river forms frontier, but vessel will call only at specified ports. XII, II, 334.

Governed by Part XII, Section I. Ditto.

Under Customs seal where both banks are within same State. Ditto.

Works of upkeep, improvement : riparian State responsible ; appeal in case of neglect to tribunal constituted by L. of N. XII, II, 363.

Works impeding navigation : tribunal of L. of N. may suspend or suppress ; reservation for rights of irrigation, water-power, fisheries, &c. XII, II, 337.

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KIEL CANAL : equality.

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Germany :—

Armaments :—

Allowance to be fixed by P.A. and A.P. V, II, 192.

Manufacture for export and export forbidden. V, II, 192.

Stocks in excess, within a month of notification, to be surrendered for destruction. V, II, 192.

Auxiliary cruisers and fleet auxiliaries enumerated to be disarmed and treated as merchant ships. V, II, 187.

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Fortifications and guns to be removed. V, II, 195.

Hydrographical information to be given to P.A. and A.P. V, II, 195.

No guns on maritime routes. V, II, 195.

Fortifications forbidden within a certain area. Ditto.

Free passage to all nations. Ditto.

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Fortifications :—

Within 50 kilom. of German coast to be defensive and not to be extended or increased. V, II, 196.

Ditto, ditto, armament not to be increased. Ditto.

Ditto, ditto, limitation of stocks of ammunition within two months of Treaty coming into force. Ditto.

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HELIGOLAND.

Limitation of naval forces :—

Construction or acquisition of vessels forbidden except for replacement. V, II, 190.

Limits of displacement in replacements. Ditto.

Numbers of surface vessels. V, II, 181.

No submarines. Ditto.

Others not provided for to be put in reserve or to commercial uses. Ditto.

Periods to elapse before units may be replaced except in case of loss. V, II, 190.

Materials resulting from breaking up of warships, including submarines, to be used only for industrial or commercial purposes. V, II, 189.

Minesweeping vessels kept in commission in numbers fixed by P.A. and A.P. V, II, 182.

Minesweeping : Germany to sweep and keep free certain areas, including areas to be specified in the Baltic. V, II, 193.

Missions, military, naval or air, not to be sent abroad. V, I, 179.

Navy, foreign ; Germans not to enrol or instruct in any. V, I, 179.

Personnel :—

Officers must serve until 45. V, II, 194.

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Replacements of discharges before expiration of service not to exceed 5 per cent. Ditto.

Total, two months after Treaty comes into force, not to exceed 15,000, of whom officers and warrant officers not to exceed 1,500. V, II, 183.

Recruiting :—

Discharges: no further service or training for those discharged. V, II, 194.

Voluntary enlistment; 25 years for officers and warrant officers, 12 years for petty officers and men. Ditto.

Ships under construction to be broken up under supervision of P.A. and A.P. on Treaty coming into force. V, II, 186.

Submarines :—

Acquisition or construction even for commercial purposes forbidden. V, II, 191.

Submarine salvage vessels and docks surrendered to P.A. and A.P. V, II, 188.

Submarines, &c. :—

Able to proceed to be surrendered in Allied ports to be indicated. Ditto.

Not able to proceed and under construction to be broken up within three months of Treaty coming into force. Ditto.

Surrender of German surface warships not in German ports. V, II, 184.

Surrender of German surface warships in neutral ports to be notified to neutral Governments. Ditto.

Surrender, within two months of Treaty coming into force, of specified ships with all their guns in such ports as P.A. and A.P. may direct. V, II, 185.

Training forbidden to mercantile marine. V, II, 194.

Wireless telegraph stations :—

At Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin not to be used for naval, military, or political questions without assent of P.A. and A.P. for three months after Treaty comes into force. V, II, 197.

For three months after Treaty comes into force Germany not to build high power stations in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey. Ditto.

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See CONTRACTS, PRESCRIPTIONS: JUDGEMENTS :—

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NETHERLANDS.

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Minorities of race, language, religion, Poland will sign Treaty with P.A. and A.P. for protection of. III, VIII, 93.

Nationality:

Germans habitually resident obtain Polish nationality and lose German. III, VIII, 91.

Germans in Poland may opt for German nationality within two years of Treaty coming into force. Ditto.

Germans resident only since 1908 require authority from Polish State before acquiring Polish nationality. Ditto.

Optants must remove to own country within twelve months. Ditto.

Poles in a foreign country who are Germans may obtain Polish nationality and lose German from date of definitive attribution of territory. III, VIII, 91.

Poles in Germany may opt for Polish nationality within two years of Treaty coming into force. III, VIII, 91.

Property of optants, safeguards. Ditto.

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Export to Germany of products from transferred territory allowed by Poland for fifteen years. III, VIII, 90.

Exports free of export duties or other restrictions. Ditto.

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Germany agrees to abide by decision of P.A. and A.P. based on plebiscite. III, VIII, 88.

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Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils in area to be dissolved, non-natives being evacuated. III, VIII, Ann. (1).

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By communes according to majority in each commune. III, VIII, Ann. (4).

Date to be fixed by P.A. and A.P., but between six and eighteen months of establishment of Commission. Ditto.

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Freedom granted by Poland between East Prussia and rest of Germany

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POLITICAL OFFENCES.

See ALSACE-LORRAINE : courts.

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Commission :

For repatriation composed of representatives of A. and A.P. and German Government. VI, I, 215.

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Property to be restored by Germany. VI, I, 223.

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Of Germans may be made conditional on notification of release of nationals of A. and A.P. in Germany. VI, I, 221.

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Returned without delay to their homes by German authorities, subject if necessary to consent of occupation authorities. VI, I, 216.

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Against discipline committed before May 1, 1919, not to be detained. VI, I, 218.

Other than disciplinary may be detained. VI, I, 219.

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Decrees and orders of Courts of A. and A.P. accepted by Germany as final.

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Decrees and orders of German Courts may be examined by A. and A.P. whether relating to their nationals or neutrals. Germany will furnish information and carry out recommendations. XV, —, 440.

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Conventions of March 20, 1883, June 2, 1911, revive on Treaty coming into force so far as not affected by terms of Treaty. X, II, 286.

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Article 309 does not apply between United States and Germany. X, VII, 309.

Between declaration of war and Treaty coming into force—no action. X, VII, 309.

By sale within one year after signature of Treaty of things manufactured between declaration of war and Treaty coming into force—no action. X, VII, 309.

By sale—provision does not apply where owner belonged to occupied district. Ditto.

Licences :—

Article 310 does not apply between United States and Germany. X, VII, 310.

Between enemies cancelled from declaration of war. X, VII, 310.

Renewed on demand, within 6 months of Treaty coming into force, of former beneficiary on conditions fixed, failing agreement, by tribunal of A. or A.P. or (in case of German rights) by Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. Ditto.

War measures : licences under war legislation of A. and A.P. not affected by continued existence of pre-war licences. Ditto.

War measures : sums paid treated as other German debts or credit. Ditto.

Periods :—

Failure to work, &c., patent, trade mark or design for two years after Treaty coming into force not a reason for cancellation. X, VII, 307.

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Formalities and obligations: extended for minimum of one year after Treaty coming into force, in case of property acquired before August 1, 1914 and consequential rights arising during war. X, VII, 307.

Formalities and obligations: no right given to reopen interference proceedings in United States. Ditto.

Period from August 1, 1914 to coming into force of Treaty excluded from time for working, &c., patent, trade mark, or design. X, VII, 307.

Priority:—

Filing and registration of patents, trade marks, designs, not expiring by August 1, 1914, to be extended six months after Treaty comes into force. X, VII, 308.

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Rights:—

Consequential, accruing during war re-established from Treaty coming into force. X, VII, 306.

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Lapsed: safeguard for users during lapse. Ditto.

Lapsed: German revived subject to licence provisions as during war. Ditto.

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Restriction: A and A.P. may impose limitations, &c., on rights acquired:—

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Before or during war in interest of national defence, public interest, fair treatment by Germany, fulfilment of German treaty obligations. Ditto.

Restriction: where imposed compensation or royalties to be paid and treated as other German credits. Ditto.

Transactions since August 1, 1914 may be declared void by A or

A.P. if contrary to Treaty provisions. Ditto.

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Inhabitants enjoy all rights to which they were entitled under German legislation. X, VII, 311.

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Sums due to Germans treated subject to legislation of A. or A.P., as other debts to Germans. X, VII, 306.

Sums due to A. or A.P. nationals treated as other German debts. Ditto.

Use of German rights during war: no claim to be made. Ditto.

See also—

ALSACE-LORRAINE.

ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL, MIXED.

PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE:—

Liquidation of German property.

War measures.

PROPERTY, INTELLECTUAL (literary and artistic):—

Conventions of September 9, 1886, November 13, 1908, and Protocol of March 20, 1914, revive on Treaty coming into force so far as not affected by terms of Treaty. X, II, 286.

Infringement:—

Article 309 does not apply between United States and Germany. X, VII, 309.

Between declaration of war and Treaty coming into force: no action. X, VII, 309.

By sale: provision does not apply where owner belonged to occupied district. X, VII, 309.

By sale within one year after signature of Treaty of works published between declaration of war and Treaty coming into force: no action. Ditto.

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PROPERTY, INTELLECTUAL (*contd.*)—

Licences :—

Article 310 does not apply between United States and Germany. X, vii, 310.

Between enemies cancelled from declaration of war. X, vii, 310.

Renewed on demand, within six months of Treaty coming into force, of former beneficiary on conditions fixed, failing agreement, by tribunal of A. or A.P., or (in case of German rights) by Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. Ditto.

War measures :—

Licences under war legislation of A. and A.P. not affected by continued existence of pre-war licences. X, vii, 310.

Sums paid treated as other German debts or credits. Ditto.

Rights :—

Consequential, accruing during war re-established from Treaty coming into force. X, vii, 306.

Re-established from Treaty coming into force in favour of those entitled at outbreak of war. Ditto.

Restriction :—

A. and A.P. may impose limitations, &c., on rights acquired :—

After the war in interests of national defence or public interest. X, vii, 306.

Before or during war in interests of national defence, public interest, fair treatment by Germany, fulfilment of German treaty obligations. Ditto.

Where imposed, compensation or royalties to be paid and treated as other German credits. Ditto.

Transactions since August 1, 1914, may be declared void by A. or A.P. if contrary to Treaty provisions. Ditto.

Territories ceded :—

Inhabitants enjoy all rights to which they were entitled under German legislation. X, vii, 311.

Rights recognised by transferee State and remain in force for periods given under German law. Ditto.

War measures :—

Of A. and A.P. in regard to German rights maintained. X, vii, 306.

Reservation in regard to rights liquidated under Article 297 (b) (PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE). X, vii, 306.

Sums due to A. or A.P. nationals treated as other German debts. X, vii, 306.

Sums due to Germans treated subject to legislation of A. or A.P. as other debts to Germans. Ditto.

Use of German rights during war : no claim to be made. Ditto.

See also—

ALSACE-LORRAINE.

ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL, MIXED.

PROPERTY, RIGHTS, AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE :—

Liquidation of German property.

War measures.

PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE. X, iv, 297-298 & Ann.

Assets, cash :—

Accounted for irrespective of any investment. X, iv, Ann. 12.

Definition. X, iv, Ann. 11.

Investments of cash assets of nationals of H.C.P., including companies, by administrators of enemy properties annulled. X, iv, Ann. 12.

Assets, enemy :—

Charged with claims growing out of German acts between July 31, 1914 and entry into war of A. or A.P. concerned. X, iv, Ann. 4.

Charged with unsatisfied claims of A. and A.P., regarding property in other enemy States. Ditto.

Claims of nationals of A. and A.P. a first charge on German assets. Ditto.

Disposed, by Powers adopting Section III (Debts), through clearing office. X, iv, 297 (h (1)).

German taxes on capital, levied from November 11, 1918 to three months after Treaty comes into force or until restitution of property, to be restored. X, iv, 297(j).

In new States or those not entitled to reparation : paid, subject to rights of Reparation Commission under, e.g., Articles 235 and 260, to owner who has right of appeal to Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. X, iv, 297 (h (2)).

PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE (contd.)—

Assets, enemy (contd.)—

- Of nationals of A. and A.P. not adopting Section III (Debts) paid to person or his Government. X, iv, 297 (h (2)).
- Of nationals of A. and A.P. not adopting Section III (Debts) a first charge on German assets in that country. X, iv, 297 (h (2)).
- Property of nationals of A. and A.P. in German-controlled territory: Germany to furnish information within one month of Treaty coming into force. X, iv, Ann. 13.
- Remainder of German assets to be held for reparation in accordance with Article 243. X, iv, 297 (h (2)).
- Such claims assessed by arbitrator appointed by M. Gustave Ador or Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. X, iv, Ann. 4.
- Title-deeds, &c., and information relating to German property, &c., in territory of A. and A.P.: Germany to furnish within six months of Treaty coming into force. X, iv, Ann. 10.
- Currency: provisions of Section III apply to those States not adopting Section III, unless notification to contrary be made by A. or A.P. concerned within six months of Treaty coming in force. X, iv, Ann. 14.
- Definition: includes debts, credits and accounts, Section III (Debts) regulating only method of payment. Ditto.
- Exchange rate of; interest: provisions of Section III apply to those States not adopting Section III, unless notification to contrary be made by A. or A.P. concerned within six months of Treaty coming into force. Ditto.
- Liquidation of German property:—

 - By A. and A.P. in their territory, including ceded territories. X, iv, 297 (b).
 - Compensation under local laws. X, iv, 297 (c).
 - Disposition of enemy assets. X, iv, 297 (h).
 - Germans acquiring A. or A.P.

nationality not Germans in this connection. X, iv, 297 (b). Germany to compensate her nationals. X, iv, 297 (i). Industrial, literary and artistic property included under Article 297 and Annex. X, iv, Ann. 15. Property, &c., subject to war measures until liquidation is complete. X, iv, Ann. 9.

Restitution:—

- A. and A.P. must specify within one year of Treaty coming into force property, &c., coming under Article 297 (f). X, iv, Ann. 7.
- By equivalents through intermediation of Powers or clearing offices concerned. X, iv, 297 (f).
- Carried out by order of German Government, who will furnish accounts. X, iv, Ann. 8.
- Compensation: Germany to indemnify third parties. X, iv, 297 (f).
- Direct to nationals of A. or A.S. where enemy property not liquidated. X, iv, 297 (f, g).
- Germany to conserve property, &c., until restored. X, iv, Ann. 6.
- Legal position in Germany to be that of property of German nationals before the war. X, iv, 298.
- Property not to be subject to derogation not applied to German property: compensation for derogation. Ditto.
- Property subjected to German war measures. X, iv, 297 (a).
- Trade-marks: use in third countries continued only to company of A. or A.S. to exclusion of German company, latter being allowed reproduction in Germany. X, iv, Ann. 5.
- War measures:**—

 - Applied to German property under liquidation until liquidation is complete. X, iv, Ann. 9.
 - Between A. and A.P. or nationals and Germany or nationals considered final and binding. X, iv, 297 (d); X, iv, Ann. 1.
 - Claims: no claim to lie against A. or A.P. in respect of act or omission in dealing with German property. X, iv, Ann. 2.
 - Definition. X, iv, Ann. 3.

PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS,
PRIVATE (*contd.*)—War measures (*contd.*)—

German :—

Compensation, as fixed by Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, borne by Germany and charged on German property in A. or A.S. X, iv, 297 (e).

Compensation reduced by amount of restitution, *q.v.* X, iv, 297 (f).

Controllers, liquidators, &c., personally responsible under guarantee of German Government for documents. X, iv, Ann. 13.

Industrial, literary and artistic property included in Article 297 and Annex. X, iv, Ann. 15.

Information and documents regarding property of A. and A.P. to be furnished by Germany. X, iv, Ann. 13.

Restitution of property subjected to. X, iv, 297 (a).

To be discontinued. X, iv, 297 (a).

See also ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL, MIXED.

PROTECTION.

See—

ALIENS.

ALSACE-LOERRAINE : nationality.

DANZIG :—

Free city.

Treaty.

GERMANY : colonies : natives.

MINORITIES.

MOROCCO : protected persons.

SAAR BASIN :—

Army.

Governing Commission.

PROTECTORATE.

See—

EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

PRUSSIA. *See also* NAVIGATION : Oder : Commission, international.

PRUSSIA, EAST.

Allenstein plebiscite :—

Boundary of plebiscite area. III, ix, 94.

Boundary of East Prussia and Poland to be recommended to P.A. and A.P. by Commission and based on voting and geographical and economic conditions. III, ix, 95.

Boundary of plebiscite area to be

fixed by P.A. and A.P. III, ix, 95.

Commission appointed by P.A. and A.P. to administer area and arrange for vote. III, ix, 95.

Commission appointed by P.A. and A.P. to administer expenses borne by local revenues, East Prussia to bear proportion of any deficit as fixed by P.A. and A.P. III, ix, 95.

Commission : expenses borne by local revenues. East Prussia to bear proportion of any deficit as fixed by P.A. and A.P. Ditto.

Commission : powers of. III, ix, 95.

Commission : powers to cease when administration provided for by East Prussia and Poland in accordance with final decision. III, ix, 95.

Evacuation of area by German troops and authorities within fifteen days of Treaty coming into force. III, ix, 95.

Territory recognised as East Prussian or Polish to be taken over within one month of notification. III, ix, 95.

Vote by all over 20, regardless of sex, born or resident in area. III, ix, 95.

Vote by communes. Ditto.

Boundaries. II, —, 28.

Marienwerder plebiscite :—

Boundary of plebiscite area. III, ix, 96.

Boundary of East Prussia and Poland recommended to P.A. and A.P. by Commission and based on voting and on geographical and economic conditions. III, ix, 97.

Boundary of East Prussia and Poland to be fixed by P.A. and A.P. Ditto.

Commission appointed by P.A. and A.P. to administer area and arrange for vote. III, ix, 97.

Commission to conform to provisions relating to Allenstein plebiscite. Ditto.

Commission expenses borne by local revenues. III, ix, 97.

Commission : powers to cease when administration taken over by East Prussia and Poland respectively. III, ix, 97.

PRUSSIA, EAST (contd.)—**Marienwerder plebiscite (contd.)—**

Communications: railway, telegraphic, and telephonic:—
Between Germany and East Prussia to be secured by Convention between Germany and Poland within a year of Treaty coming into force. III, IX, 98.

Between Poland and Danzig on right bank of Vistula to be secured by Convention between Germany and Poland within a year of Treaty coming into force. Ditto.

Communications: in case of difference, Conventions to be settled by Council of L. of N. Ditto.

Evacuation of area by German troops and authorities within fifteen days of Treaty coming into force. III, IX, 97.

Fortifications forbidden in any portion of area which remains German. III, IX, 97.

Requisitions and measures injurious to economic interests forbidden to Germans pending evacuation. III, IX, 97.

Vistula: Poland to have complete control of Vistula in this section, including east bank so far as is necessary for its regulation and improvement. III, IX, 97.

Vistula: access and use to be assured to East Prussian people, commerce and vessels by regulations made by P.A. and A.P. Ditto.

Vote by communes. III, IX, 96.

PUBLICATION.**See—**

LABOUR: Office International: duties.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS:—

Council: settlement of disputes.
Treaties.

PUBLIC INTEREST.**See—**

PROPERTY, INDUSTRIAL: rights: restriction.

PROPERTY, INTELLECTUAL: rights: restriction.

PUNISHMENT.**See—**

GERMANY: Ex-Emperor.

PENALTIES.

Q.

QUARANTINE. See SANITARY.

QUARANTINE DUTIES. See NAVIGATION.

QUININE, SALTS OF. See REPARATION: economic resources: dyestuffs, &c.: definition.

R.**RAILWAYS.**

Boundary alterations:—

Working of lines across frontiers settled by Conventions between railway administrations. Failing agreement, Commission of Experts decide. XII, III, 372.

Czecho-Slovak State may, within five years of Treaty coming into force, require construction of line in Germany between Schlausey and Nachod. Former bears cost. XII, III, 373.

Cessions under the Treaty: general conditions: handing over of works and plant in good condition, of rolling-stock complete where owned by lines, of fair proportion of rolling-stock determined by commissions of experts in other cases. XII, III, 371.

Convention of Berne 1890 and additions to be renewed from coming into force of this Treaty, subject to provision regarding new Convention. XII, II, 366.

Convention for transportation of passengers, luggage, and goods: if concluded within five years of Treaty coming into force to be binding on Germany to exclusion of Berne Convention, &c. Ditto.

Exports from Germany to A. or A.S. specified by A. or A.P. to come under same rule as imports from A. and A.S. XII, III, 365.

Imports from A. and A.S. to or in transit through Germany to receive most favourable treatment accorded to similar traffic under similar conditions. Ditto.

Luxemburg: Germany renounces all rights to exploitation. III, II, 40.

Rolling-stock:—

German waggons fitted for inclusion in trains under Berne Convention as modified, without hampering continuous brake which may be adopted within ten years of Treaty coming into force. XII, III, 370.

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RAILWAYS (*contd.*)—

Rolling-stock (*contd.*)—

Of A. and A.P.: national treatment as regards movement, upkeep, repairs. *Ditto.*

St. Gotthard Railway :—

Denunciation of Convention 1909 by Switzerland after agreement with Italy will be accepted by Germany within ten years of Treaty coming into force. XII, III, 374.

Denunciation: in event of dispute, Germany will accept decision of arbitrator designated by United States. *Ditto.*

Technical standardisation: Agreement of May 15, 1886, renewed between Germany and A. and A.P. parties thereto. X, II, 282.

Through tickets and services :—

Germany to co-operate and facilitate. XII, III, 367.

No impediment by administrative measures to through services or emigrants. XII, III, 368.

Rates not higher than internal rates for similar service. XII, III, 367.

Rates for emigrants, no discrimination against ports of A. or A.P. *Ditto.*

Transport control: Germany to carry out instructions of authority acting for A. and A.P. :—

- (1) For transport of troops and their supplies.
- (2) For transport of supplies, restoration of normal conditions, organisation of posts and telegraphs.

XII, III, 375.

Transport, mixed: Articles 365-369 apply to part of journey by rail. XII, III, 369.

Germany and East Prussia. *See PRUSSIA, EAST:* Marienwerder plebiscite.

Poland and Danzig. *See PRUSSIA, EAST:* Marienwerder plebiscite.

See also—

ALSACE-LORRAINE :—

Transport.

Industries.

Port of Strasburg-Kehl.

DANZIG: Treaty.

EXPORTATION: discrimination.

IMPORTATION: discrimination.

PORTS, WATERWAYS, RAILWAYS :—

Conventions, general.

Reciprocity.

Revision.

SHANTUNG.

TRANSIT.

TRANSPORT.

RAILWAY TRUCKS.

Sealing subject to Customs inspection:

Agreement of May 15, 1886, and Protocol of May 18, 1907, renewed between Germany and A. and A.P. parties thereto. X, II, 282.

RATIFICATION.

Arrangements for.

Dates determine respective dates of Treaty coming into force for each Power except as provided under "procès-verbal" (below).

Procès-verbal drawn up on ratification by Germany and three of P.A. and A.P.

Procès-verbal, date of first is date of Treaty coming into force for determination of periods of time in Treaty.

See also OPIUM CONVENTION.

RECRUITING.

See—

ARMY.

NAVY.

RED CROSS. *See* LEAGUE OF NATIONS: social and economic conditions.

REGIONAL APPELLATIONS. *See* COMPETITION, UNFAIR.

REGISTRATION. *See* LEAGUE OF NATIONS: Treaties.

REGISTRY. *See* PORT OF REGISTRY.

RELIGION, FREEDOM OF.

See—

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: mandates.

MINORITIES.

SAAR BASIN: Government.

REPARATION. VIII, 231-247.

Allocation of instalments among A. and A.P. VIII, I, 237.

Allocation of property and services to be reckoned as cash. *Ditto.*

Arbitration: reparation a subject suitable for. I, —, 13.

Belgium :—

Reimbursement of debts to A. and A.P. with interest. VIII, I, 232.

Reimbursement of debts to A. and A.P. :—

Amount determined by Reparation Commission. *Ditto.*

REPARATION (contd.)—**Belgium (contd.)—**

Reimbursement of debts to A. and A.P. (contd.)—
Bonds :—

Bearer, payable in marks gold by May 1, 1926. VIII, I, 232.
Form determined by Reparation Commission. Ditto.

To be handed to Reparation Commission. Ditto.

Credits to Germany reckoned towards reparation, list of. VIII, I, 243.

Damages to civilians and civilian property and certain other damages to be compensated in full. VIII, I, 232.

Damages: categories for compensation :—

1. Civilians, by acts of war.
2. Civilians, by acts of cruelty, violence, ill-treatment (including imprisonment, deportation, internment, evacuation, exposure at sea, forced labour).
3. Civilians, by acts injurious to health, capacity to work, or to honour in Germany or occupied or invaded territory.
4. Prisoners of war, maltreatment.
5. Armed forces, pensions to victims of war capitalised on basis of French scales.
6. Prisoners of war, cost of assistance by A. and A.P. to prisoners and dependants.
7. Separation allowances, amount for each year capitalised on basis of French scale.
8. Civilians, forced labour without just remuneration.
9. Property, acts of Germany or allies or directly in consequence of operations of war.
10. Civilians, levies, fines, &c., imposed by Germany or her allies. VIII, I, Ann. I.

Economic resources :—

Applied towards in respect of merchant shipping, physical restoration, coal, &c.; dyestuffs and chemical products. VIII, I, 236; VIII, I, Ann. I-VI.

Value of those used to be credited towards liquidation of German obligations. VIII, I, 236; VIII, I, Ann. I-VI.

Coal. VIII, I, 236.

Coke may be demanded by A. and A.P. in substitution. VIII, I, Ann. V (7).

Coke: price as paid by Germans. VIII, I, Ann. V (9).

Deliveries to :—

Belgium for ten years. VIII, I, Ann. V (3).

France for ten years, including amounts covering diminution in production of mines of Nord and Pas de Calais. VIII, I, Ann. V (2).

Italy for ten years, two-thirds of which to be landborne. VIII, I, Ann. V (4).

Luxemburg, if directed by Commission, of pre-war amounts of German coal. VIII, I, Ann. V (5).

Options :—

Exercised through and subject to regulations of Commission. VIII, I, Ann. V (10).

Notices to be given to Germany. VIII, I, Ann. V (10).

Priority over all to coal in respect of destroyed mines. Ditto.

Priority to be settled by Commission. Ditto.

Until Germany receives demands Protocol of December 25, 1918, remains in force. Ditto.

Prices :—

Landborne, Belgian bunkers, carriage. VIII, I, Ann. V (6).

Seaborne, ditto. VIII, I, Ann. V (6).

Products :—

Amounts of benzol, coal tar and sulphate of ammonia to be delivered to France. VIII, I, Ann. V (8).

France may ask for corresponding quantities of light and heavy oils, anthracene, naphthalene or pitch in place of coal tar. Ditto.

Price as paid by Germans. VIII, I, Ann. V (9).

Dyestuffs and chemical drugs. VIII, I, 236.

Definition (including cinchona bark and salts of quinine). VIII, I, Ann. VI (5).

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REPARATION (*contd.*)—

Economic resources (*contd.*)—

Dyestuffs and chemical drugs (*contd.*)—

Option :—

To Commission to require delivery of quantities not exceeding 50 per cent. of stock in Germany or under German control at date of Treaty coming into force. VIII, I, Ann. VI (1).

To require delivery of 25 per cent. of German production on basis of six monthly periods until January 1, 1925. VIII, I, Ann. VI (2).

Options: details determined by Commission. VIII, I, Ann. VI (4).

Prices. VIII, I, Ann. VI (3).

Merchant shipping. VIII, I, 236.

Building of ships in German yards for A. and A.P.:—

Reparation Commission to notify tonnage to be laid down in five years succeeding three months after Treaty comes into force.

Tonnage in each year not to exceed 200,000 tons.

Specifications, price, accounting, ordering, building, delivery determined by Commission.

VIII, I, Ann. III (5).

Claims to vessels sunk and salved: Germany waives all claims notwithstanding German Prize Court decisions. VIII, I, Ann. III (9).

Claims v. A. and A.P. in respect of German ships waived by Germany, except as under Armistice Agreements of January 13, 1919, &c. VIII, I, Ann. III (8).

Definition of German ships, &c. VIII, I, Ann. III (3).

Delivery to Reparation Commission within two months of Treaty coming into force of certain numbers of German ships and boats. VIII, I, Ann. III (2).

Proportions of classes of German shipping ceded to A. and A.P. VIII, I, Ann. III (1).

Replacement ton for ton, class for class: Germany recognises right of A. and A.P. VIII, I, Ann. III (1).

Restitution of boats, &c., of inland navigation :—

Within two months of Treaty coming into force.

Supplemented if necessary by cession of not exceeding 20 per cent. of German river fleet.

Conditions of cession settled by arbitrators under Article 339 of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways).

VIII, I, Ann. III (6).

Title provided by Germany to Reparation Commission for each ship. VIII, I, Ann. III (4).

Transfers to neutral flags without consent of A. and A.P.: Germany will recover full title. VIII, I, Ann. III (7).

Physical restoration. VIII, I, 236.

Agricultural material: continued delivery to France under Article III of Armistice renewal of January 16, 1919. VIII, I, Ann. IV (7).

Animals: immediate advance within three months of Treaty coming into force of live stock to France and Belgium. VIII, I, Ann. IV (6).

Delivery dates not to exceed four years. VIII, I, Ann. IV (3).

Invaded areas: Germany will devote economic resources to physical restoration to extent determined by A. and A.P. VIII, I, Ann. IV (1).

Lists :—

Commission to decide extent of enforcement of lists on Germany. VIII, I, Ann. IV (4).

Filed with Commission showing (a) animals, machinery, equipment, tools, &c., desired to be replaced by like articles from Germany; (b) reconstruction materials (building materials), machinery, furniture, &c., desired to be produced in Germany. VIII, I, Ann. IV (2).

REPARATION (contd.)—**Economic resources (contd.)—****Physical restoration (contd.)—****Lists (contd.)—**

- (a) To be filed within sixty days of Treaty coming into force. VIII, I, Ann. IV (3).
- (b) To be filed by December 31, 1919. Ditto.

German Government to be heard by Commission. VIII, I, Ann. IV (4).

Germany and A. and A.P. accept decisions of Commission. Ditto.

Machinery, equipment, tools, &c., in actual use not to be taken unless no free stock available, and then only to 30 per cent. in any establishment. VIII, I, Ann. IV (4).

Value of things delivered or restoration made determined by Commission. VIII, I, Ann. IV (5).

German undertaking to make. VIII, I, 239.

Laws, decrees, German, to give effect to reparation clauses. VIII, I, 241.

Payment:—

Within thirty years according to schedule by Reparation Commission. VIII, I, 233.

May be postponed or modified but not cancelled by Reparation Commission. VIII, I, 234.

Of any balance due after thirty years may be postponed or varied by A. and A.P. VIII, I, 233.

Before May 1921 of equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks, as arranged by Reparation Commission. VIII, I, 235.

Cancelled only by specific authority of Governments represented on Reparation Commission. VIII, I, 234.

Of expenses of armies of occupation and food and raw materials a first charge on preliminary payment. VIII, I, 235.

Reparation Commission exclusive agency for receiving, selling, holding, distributing payments. VIII, I, Ann. II (12).

See also REPARATION COMMISSION: payments.

Property, &c., under Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic clauses) not affected except as to final balance in favour of Germany. VIII, I, 242.

Responsibility for war losses accepted by Germany. VIII, I, 231.

Restitution is in addition to. VIII, I, 238; VIII, I, 243.

Telegraph cables:—

Renunciation of rights in German cables (enumerated). VIII, I, 244; VIII, I, Ann. VII.

Value of privately-owned cables in list to be credited to Germany in reparation account. VIII, I, Ann. VII.

See also—

ALSACE-LORRAINE.

FINANCE: priority.

GERMANY: colonies: Cameroons.

GUARANTEES: reparation.

MOROCCO: State Bank.

NAVIGATION:—

Danube: Commission, European.

Rhine: cession of tugs, &c. (a German credit).

Rivers, international: cession of tugs, &c. (a German credit).

PROPERTY RIGHTS AND INTERESTS,
PRIVATE: assets, enemy.**REPARATION COMMISSION.****RESTITUTION.****RUSSIA.**

SAAR BASIN: mines: cession.

REPARATION COMMISSION.

Agents. VIII, I, Ann. II (7).

Amendment of Ann. II (Reparation Commission) effected by unanimous decision of Governments represented. VIII, I, Ann. II (22).

Assessor:—

May be appointed by A. and A.P. not represented when interested, without right to vote. VIII, I, Ann. II (3).

Replaced as soon as possible after vacancy. VIII, I, Ann. II (4).

Assistant delegates:—

Nominated by Powers having delegates, to replace delegates when necessary: present without taking part at other times. VIII, I, Ann. II (2).

Replaced as soon as possible after vacancy. VIII, I, Ann. II (4).

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REPARATION COMMISSION (*contd.*)—

Certificates :—

Issue to each Power of certificates showing bonds or goods held on its behalf on account of reparation. VIII, I, Ann. II (15).

Registered and may, on notice to Commission, be transferred by endorsement. *Ditto.*

Withdrawn when bonds issued for sale, &c., and goods delivered. *Ditto.*

Chairman and vice-chairman. VIII, I, Ann. II (6).

Claims : Germany to be heard. VIII, I, 233.

Committees. VIII, I, Ann. II (7).

Decisions binding and go into immediate effect. VIII, I, Ann. II (14).

Default :—

Action by A. and A.P. may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals, and will not constitute acts of war. VIII, I, Ann. II (18).

Commission to give notice to each interested Power, and recommend action. VIII, I, Ann. II (17).

Delegates :—

Belgium to be represented except when Japan and Serb-Croat-Slovene State are represented. VIII, I, Ann. II (2).

Five the maximum number on any occasion. *Ditto.*

Japan represented on questions relating to damages at sea and to Japanese financial interests. *Ditto.*

Nominated by United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Serb-Croat-Slovene State. *Ditto.*

Other Powers. *See Assessor.*

Replaced as soon as possible after vacancy. VIII, I, Ann. II (4).

Serb-Croat-Slovene State represented on questions relating to Austria, Hungary, or Bulgaria. VIII, I, Ann. II (2).

United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy represented on all occasions. *Ditto.*

Diplomatic privileges for members and agents. VIII, I, 240.

Dissolution when amounts due have been received and distributed. VIII, I, Ann. II (23).

Duties, constitution, powers. VIII, I, 233; VIII, I, Ann. II.

Employees. VIII, I, Ann. II (7).

Evidence and arguments of Germany and her allies to be heard. They are not to share in decisions of Committee. VIII, I, Ann. II (9-10). Expenses paid by Germany. VIII, I, 240.

Findings notified to Germany by May 1, 1921, showing extent of Germany's obligations. VIII, I, 233. Information will be supplied by Germany as to finances, stocks, production, and military operations. VIII, I, 240.

Interest :—

Commission, in fixing net debt, may include interest on reparation of material damage as from November 11, 1918, to May 1, 1921. VIII, I, Ann. II (16).

Debited to Germany from May 1, 1921, on net debt at 5 per cent. unless varied later by Commission. VIII, I, Ann. II (16).

Interpretation of reparation provisions within authority of Commission. VIII, I, Ann. II (12).

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Payments :—

Bonds, &c. :—
To be issued as guarantee of payment of claims not paid in gold, &c. VIII, I, Ann. II (12a).

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20,000 million marks payable by May 1, 1921, without interest. VIII, I, Ann. II (12c (1)).

40,000 million marks with $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest between 1921 and 1926, and 5 per cent. thereafter, and 1 per cent. for amortisation after 1926. VIII, I, Ann. II (12c (2)).

Undertaking to issue, when Commission thinks interest, &c., can be met, 40,000 million marks at 5 per cent. VIII, I, Ann. II (12c (3)).

Other questions on issue, management, and regulation of bond issue determined by Commission. VIII, I, Ann. II (12c).

Further issues as security may be required by Commission. *Ditto.*

REPARATION COMMISSION (*contd.*)—Payments (*contd.*)—Bonds, &c. (*contd.*)—

Sale of bonds extinguishes reparation indebtedness to nominal amount of bonds sold. VIII, I, Ann. II (12d).

Cancellation of capital or interest: Commission to produce reasoned decisions. VIII, I, Ann. II (12f).

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Commission exclusive agency for receiving, selling, holding, distributing payments. VIII, I, Ann. II (12).

Conditions and provisions binding on the Commission. Ditto.

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Property damages in invaded districts calculated at cost of repair, &c., when executed. VIII, I, Ann. II (12e).

Substitutes permitted for gold payments. VIII, I, Ann. II (19).

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Rules of law and evidence:—

Commission guided by justice, equity, and good faith. VIII, I, Ann. II (11).

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Question whether unanimity is required to be referred to an arbitrator in case of difference between Governments. Ditto.

Withdrawal of Governments: twelve months' notice. VIII, I, Ann. II (2).

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GERMANY: Colonies: Cameroons.

MOROCCO: State Bank.

REPARATION.

SAAR BASIN: mines: cession.

SAAR BASIN: Plebiscite: alternatives (c).

REPATRIATION.

See—

CLAIMS v. CHINA: Germany.

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GUARANTEES: occupation of Baltic provinces and Lithuania by German troops.

PRUSSIA, EAST: Marienwerder plebiscite.

SAAR BASIN: mines: property.

RESIDENCE, right of.

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GERMANY: colonies: conditions.

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“RHEINLAND.”

Battleship to be surrendered to P.A. and A.P. V, II, 185.

RHINE, RIVER.

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German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. V, II, 187.

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German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. Ditto.

RIVER BOATS, &c.

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NAVIGATION: rivers, international: cession of tugs, &c.

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RIVERS. *See NAVIGATION. See under names.*

ROTTERDAM, German river vessels and works. *See NAVIGATION: Rhine: cession.*

ROUHER, MR. *See RESTITUTION: papers.*

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Original member of the L. of N. I, Ann.

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RUSSIA.

Boundaries of States of Russia fixed by treaties with A. and A.P.: Germany will recognise. III, XIV, 117.

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Reparation: rights of Russia reserved. *Ditto.*

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Army :—

Governing Commission responsible for protection of persons and property. III, IV, Ann. II (30).

Local gendarmerie. Ditto.

No military service or fortifications.

Ditto.

Boundaries. III, IV, 48.

Courts :—

Appeal Court to be set up by Governing Commission. III, IV, Ann. II (25).

Existing civil and criminal courts to be continued. Ditto.

Justice in name of Governing Commission. Ditto.

Currency :—

French State may use French money in connection with mines. III, IV, Ann. II (32).

Unrestricted circulation of French money. Ditto.

Customs duties :—

Duties on goods for local use to be applied to local budget. III, IV, Ann. II (31).

Duty-free importation for five years of goods from Basin and Germany into the other. Ditto.

Free transit for goods from Basin or Germany over Germany or Basin. Ditto.

French customs régime to be applied. Ditto.

No export tax on metallurgical products or coal to Germany or on German exports or use of industries. Ditto.

Exports :—

French Government may limit exports to Alsace-Lorraine and France for five years to the average 1911-1913. Ditto.

See also Customs duties.

Governing Commission :—

Archives, &c., to be placed at its disposal. III, IV, Ann. II (20).

Chairman :—

Acts as executive. III, IV, Ann. II (18).

Appointed for one year by Council of L. of N. Ditto.

May be reappointed. Ditto.

Decisions by majority. III, IV, Ann. II (19).

Members :—

Appointed, reappointed or removed by Council of L. of N. III, IV, Ann. II (17).

Appointed for one year. Ditto.

Salary fixed by Council of L. of N. and charged on local revenues. Ditto.

Powers :—

And duties. *See also* Army, Justice, &c.

Cease on transfer of territory to France or Germany. III, IV, Ann. III (39).

May administer and operate railways, canals and public services. III, IV, Ann. II (19).

To be equal to those of former Government. Ditto.

Property of German States, other than mines: full right of user. III, IV, Ann. II (22).

Railways: apportionment of rolling-stock by a mixed commission. Ditto.

To decide all questions of interpretation. III, IV, Ann. II (33).

To ensure protection abroad for inhabitants of territory. III, IV, Ann. II (21).

Governor. III, IV, 47; III, IV, 49; III, IV, Ann. II (16-33).

By Commission representing L. of N. III, IV, Ann. II (16).

Inhabitants: retain local assemblies, religious liberties, schools, language. III, IV, Ann. II (28).

Voting for local assemblies only and by all over 20, regardless of sex. Ditto.

See also Plebiscite: alternatives.

Imports. *See* Customs Duties.

Labour :—

Conditions and hours: wishes of local organizations to be consulted as well as principles of L. of N. III, IV, Ann. II (23).

Pension insurances not affected—Germany and Governing Commission to preserve all rights. III, IV, Ann. II (24).

See also Mines: employees.

Laws :—

In force on Nov. 11, 1918 (except war measures) to apply. III, IV, Ann. II (23).

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SAAR BASIN (*contd.*)—

Laws (*contd.*)—

Modifications by Governing Commission after consulting elected representatives of inhabitants.
Ditto.

Mining laws must not be modified without consultation with French State unless arising from labour legislation of L. of N. Ditto.

Mines :—

Cession :—

Of coal deposits to France. III, IV, 45.

And exploitation. III, IV, Ann. I.

Applies to all deposits, worked or unworked. III, IV, Ann. I (2).

Includes accessories and subsidiaries of existing mines. III, IV, Ann. I (3).

Free of debts and charges. III, IV, Ann. I (4).

Value, as determined by Reparation Commission credited as part reparation. III, IV, Ann. I (5).

Germany to compensate owners.
Ditto.

Repurchase by Germany.

See Plebiscite: alternatives (c).

Currency: French State may use French money in connection with mines. III, IV, Ann. II (32).

Damages in working subject to German mining laws, &c. III, IV, Ann. I (9).

Employees :—

French employees may belong to French labour unions. III, IV, Ann. I (12).

French State may institute schools, hospitals, dispensaries, workmen's houses, &c. III, IV, Ann. I (14).

From without the Basin allowed. III, IV, Ann. I (12).

Rights in regard to pensions for old age or disability safeguarded. III, IV, Ann. I (4).

Rights maintained as established by German laws, &c. III, IV, Ann. I (12).

Exploitation :—

French Government may delegate its rights and privileges. III, IV, Ann. I (10).

French State has full rights over distribution and sale of pro-

ducts, subject to local consumption in proportion existing in 1913. III, IV, Ann. I (15).

Subject to German laws, &c., in force on November 11, 1918, subject to general provisions under "SAAR BASIN: Laws." III, IV, Ann. I (12).

Land acquisition, German mining laws may be invoked. III, IV, Ann. I (9).

Property of French State not subject to forfeiture, forced sale, expropriation or requisition. III, IV, Ann. I (11).

Property: personnel, plant and product not subject to requisition. Ditto.

Taxation: for territory of Saar Basin or for communal funds. III, IV, Ann. I (13).

Transport :—

Improvements may be made in railways and waterways. III, IV, Ann. I (8).

Improvements: distribution of expenses subject to arbitration. Ditto.

May be exploited freely, especially towards France. Ditto. New forms may be introduced. Ditto.

No discrimination in Germany. III, IV, Ann. I (6).

To be provided by local railways. III, IV, Ann. I (7).

To enjoy treatment accorded to French products by any international railway convention. III, IV, Ann. I (6).

Nationality of inhabitants not affected. III, IV, Ann. II (27). Plebiscite. III, IV, 49; III, IV, Ann. III.

Alternatives :—

(a) If Treaty régime is adopted :—

Germany will renounce sovereignty in favour of and to satisfaction of L. of N. III, IV, Ann. III (35).

L. of N. will adopt the régime for permanency. Ditto.

(b) If union of whole or part with France is adopted :—

Germany will cede all rights and title over territory specified by League. III, IV, Ann. III (35).

SAAR BASIN (*contd.*)—

Plebiscite (*contd.*)—

Alternatives (*contd.*)—

Powers of Governing Commission will terminate. III, IV, Ann. III (39).

Council of L. of N. will make necessary financial and other adjustments. III, IV, Ann. III (39).

(c) If union of whole or part with Germany is adopted:—

L. of N. will cause German Government to be re-established in specified territory. III, IV, Ann. III (35).

French right of ownership in mines will be repurchased by Germany. III, IV, Ann. III (36).

Price to be fixed by experts nominated by France, Germany, and Council of L. of N. Decision by majority. Ditto.

Reparation Commission shall take account of this obligation. Ditto.

If Germany does not pay, Reparation Commission may do so and, if necessary, by liquidating mines in question. Ditto.

On transfer of mines to Germany, French State and nationals shall have right to purchase coal required. Amounts, prices, &c., to be fixed by Council of L. of N. III, IV, Ann. III (37).

France and Germany may modify these arrangements by agreement. III, IV, Ann. III (38).

Council of L. of N. will make necessary financial and other adjustments. III, IV, Ann. III (39).

Powers of Governing Commission will terminate. Ditto.

Decisions of Council of L. of N. taken by majority. III, IV, Ann. III (40).

Fifteen years after coming into force of the Treaty. III, IV, Ann. III (34).

L. of N. to decide sovereignty after the voting. III, IV, Ann. III (35).

Vote:—

By communes or districts. III, IV, Ann. III (34).

By all over 20, regardless of sex. Ditto.

Other conditions and date to be fixed by Council of L. of N. Ditto.

Property:—

Inhabitants leaving may retain immovable property. III, IV, Ann. II (29).

Inhabitants leaving may remove movable property free of charges. Ditto.

State property, public or private, subject to right of user by Governing Commission. III, IV, Ann. II (22).

Taxation:—

By Governing Commission alone. III, IV, Ann. II (26).

For local needs only. Ditto.

Maintenance of old system. Ditto. New taxes (except Customs) subject to consultation of elected representatives of inhabitants. Ditto.

Transport:—

To enjoy all rights and privileges under Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways). III, IV, Ann. II (22).

See also—

Governing Commission.

Mines.

ST. GOTTHARD RAILWAY. *See RAILWAYS.*

SAIONZI, MARQUIS.

Representative of Japan and signatory of the Treaty. p. 107.

SALVADOR.

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SALVAGE VESSELS, SUBMARINE. *See NAVY: Germany: submarines.*

SAMOA.

Convention of December 2, 1899: German rights, &c., under Article 3 terminated August 4, 1914. X, II, 288.

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SANITARY CONVENTIONS.

Of January 30, 1892, April 15, 1893, April 3, 1894, March 19, 1897, and December 3, 1903, renewed between Germany and A. and A.P. parties thereto. X, II, 282.

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"SANTA CRUZ."

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. V, II, 187.

"SANTA ELENA."

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. Ditto.

"SANTA FÉ."

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. Ditto.

SAO PAULO COFFEE. See FINANCE.

SAVOY, NEUTRALIZED ZONE.

Abrogation of stipulations in Act of Vienna, 1815, and Treaty of Paris, November 20, 1815, relating to XV, 435.

Correspondence between France and Switzerland regarding. XV, Ann. I & II.

SAVOY, UPPER, AND GEX: FREE ZONES.

Correspondence between France and Switzerland regarding. Ditto.

Status of territories settled by Treaties of 1815, &c., inconsistent with present conditions. France and Switzerland to come to agreement. XV, 435.

"SCHARNHORST."

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. V, II, 187.

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"SCHLESWIG."

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. V, II, 187.

SCHLESWIG.

Boundary:—

Between Germany and Denmark to be fixed by plebiscite. III, XII, 109.

Of plebiscite area. Ditto.

Finally fixed by Delimitation Commission constituted within 15 days of final result of vote. III, XII, 111.

Pending delimitation, fixed by P.A. and A.P. on proposal of Commission based on voting and geographical and economic conditions. III, XII, 110.

Financial obligations of Germany and Prussia assumed by Denmark in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. III, XII, 114.

Other questions arising out of restoration of Danish territory lost by

Treaty of October 30, 1864, to be determined by further stipulations. Ditto.

Nationality:—

Inhabitants of Danish territory acquire Danish nationality and lose German. III, XII, 112.

Residents after October 1, 1918, require permission of Denmark before acquiring Danish nationality. Ditto.

Germans, born in restored territory but not habitually resident, may opt for Danish nationality within two years of restoration. III, XII, 113.

Residents may opt for German nationality within two years of restoration. Ditto.

Optants must remove to their country within twelve months. Ditto.

Property of optants, safeguards. Ditto.

Plebiscite:—

Boundary:—

Of zone submitted as a whole to plebiscite (global). III, XII, 109.

Of zone submitted to plebiscite by communes. III, XII, 109.

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Expenses: one half paid by Germany. III, XII, 109.

International, to administer area. Ditto.

Norwegian and Swedish members to be invited. Ditto.

To superintend vote. Ditto.

Evacuation of area by German troops and authorities within ten days of Treaty coming into force. III, XII, 109.

Expenses: one half paid by Germany. Ditto.

Vote:—

By natives or inhabitants without distinction of sex. III, XII, 109.

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In first zone proclaimed by P.A. and A.P. Ditto.

In first zone: if in favour of Denmark she may occupy on Proclamation. Ditto.

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In second zone by communes within five weeks of first plebiscite. *Ditto.*

Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils in area to be dissolved, non-natives being evacuated. *III, XII, 109.*

Territory may be occupied by Denmark and Germany from date of decision of P.A. and A.P. *III, XII, 110.*

Territory : Germany renounces that to north of line so fixed. *Ditto.*

SCHOOL, GERMAN IN SHANGHAI. *See CHINA : Shanghai.*

SCHOOLS.

Universities, &c., not to take part in military matters or exercises, or be connected with military authorities. *V, I, 177.*

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" SCHWAEBEN."

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. *V, II, 187.*

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SEMSABS. *See MOROCCO* : protected persons.

SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE.

Original member of the L. of N. I., Ann.

Signatory of the Treaty.**See also—****NAVIGATION :** Danube.**REPARATION COMMISSION :** delegates.**SEX.**

No disability for employment by L. of N. I., —.

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POLAND : Silesia, Upper : plebiscite : vote.

PRUSSIA, EAST :—

Allenstein plebiscite.

Marienwerder plebiscite.

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Government.

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SCHLESWIG plebiscite.**See also WOMEN.****" SEYDLITZ."**

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. *V, II, 187.*

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SHANTUNG.

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NAVIGATION:—

Rhine: Central Rhine Commission:—

Jurisdiction.

Representatives.

Works.

SAVOY.

T.

TANKS. *See ARMY:* Germany: armaments.TAR, COAL. *See REPARATION:* economic resources: coal products.

TARDIEU, A.

Representative of France and signatory of the Treaty. p 107.

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Classification. *See IMPORTATION:* discrimination.Conventional. *See IMPORTATION:* duties.

TAXATION.

See—

ALIENS.

PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE: assets, enemy.

REPARATION COMMISSION: payments: capacity to pay.

SAAR BASIN:—

Mines: taxation.

Taxation.

TELEGRAPHHS.

Conventions of July 10-22, 1875, and Regulations, &c., of June 11, 1908, to be applied subject to Germany assenting to new States taking part. X, II, 283.

Protection of submarine cables. Conventions of March 14, 1884, December 1, 1886, March 23, 1887, and Final Protocol of July 7, 1887, renewed between Germany and A. and A.P. parties thereto. X, II, 282.

Wireless:—

Convention:—

Any new convention made within five years of Treaty coming into force shall bind Germany even without her consent. X, II, 284.

New convention would replace provisional regulations. Ditto.

Of July 5, 1912, to be applied subject to German fulfilment of provisional regulations to be indicated by A. and A.P. Ditto.

New stations in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey not to be built by Germany for three months after Treaty comes into force. V, II, 197.

Restricted use of stations at Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin for three months after treaty comes into force. Ditto.

See also—

DANZIG: Treaty.

PRUSSIA, EAST: Marienwerder plebiscite: communications.

RAILWAYS: transport control.

REPARATION: telegraph cables.

SHANTUNG: telegraph cables.

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TELEPHONES.

See—

DANZIG : Treaty.

PRUSSIA, EAST : Marienwerder plebiscite : communications.

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See—

COASTING TRADE.

FISHERIES, MARITIME.

POLAND : transit.

TOWAGE, MARITIME.

TRANSIT : freedom.

TERRENTORY.

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See—

FINANCE :—

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INSURANCE IN CEDED TERRITORY,
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PROPERTY :—

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PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS,
PRIVATE : liquidation.

Invaded.

See DEBTS, ENEMY : payment.

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CONTRACTS, PRESCRIPTIONS, JUDGEMENTS :—

Contracts : exceptions.

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Occupied German.

See—

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TEXTILE GOODS.

Free export. *See EXPORTATION :*
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PRIVATE : restitution : compensation.

THROUGH SERVICES AND TICKETS. *See RAILWAYS.*

"THURINGEN."

Battleship to be surrendered to P.A.
and A.P. V, II, 185.

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Tien-tsin.

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TITLES. *See PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND
INTERESTS, PRIVATE :* assets, enemy.

TOLLS. *See DUES.*

TON FOR TON. *See REPARATION :* eco-
nomic resources : merchant shipping.

TONNAGE DUTIES. *See NAVIGATION.*

TONNAGE MEASUREMENT FOR INLAND
NAVIGATION.

Convention of February 4, 1898, re-
newed between Germany and A.
and A.P. parties thereto. X, II,
282.

TOOLS. *See REPARATION :* economic
resources : physical restoration.

TOWAGE, MARITIME.

Ships of A. and A.P. to enjoy most-
favoured nation treatment in
German waters for five years,
unless Council of L. of N. decide
twelve months before expiration,
to extend period. X, I, 271 ;
X, I, 280.

TRADE.

See—

ALIENS :—

Prohibitions.

Restrictions.

AERIAL NAVIGATION : commercia
air traffic.

CHINA : Hankow and Tien-tsin.

COASTING TRADE.

COMPETITION, UNFAIR.

CONSULS.

CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE : commerce,
EXPORTATION.

FISHERIES, MARITIME.

FLAG.

GERMANY : colonies : conditions.

IMPORTATION.

NATIONALITY.

POLAND : commerce.

PRUSSIA, EAST : Marienwerder ple-
biscite : Vistula.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS :—

Mandates.

Social economic conditions.

War.

SHIPS' PAPERS.

TOWAGE, MARITIME.

International. Sovereignty shall not
be acquired by German Government
if it engages in. X, I, 281.

TRADE (contd.)—

Marks.

See—

PROPERTY, INDUSTRIAL.

PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS,
PRIVATE.**TRADING WITH THE ENEMY.**

Penalties applied to offences connected with enemy debts. X, III,
Ann. (3).

TRANSFER TO NEUTRAL FLAG. *See REPARATION:* economic resources : merchant shipping.**TRANSIT.**

Discrimination : no charge, &c., on transport in transit to depend on ownership or nationality of means of transport on any other part of route. XII, I, 321.

Duties :—

Customs on goods in transit : prohibited. XII, I, 321 ; XII, II, 330.

Prohibited. Ditto, ditto.

Favours, immunities or privileges to any country to extend to all A. and A.S. X, I, 267.

Freedom of, granted by Germany by rail, waterway, canal to persons, goods, ships, carriages, waggons, mails from or to A. and A.P., including crossing territorial waters. XII, I, 321.

See also—

AERIAL NAVIGATION.

CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE.

EMIGRATION.

KIEL CANAL.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: social and economic conditions.

NAVIGATION :—

Free zones.

Rivers, international.

POLAND.

PORTS, WATERWAYS, RAILWAYS :—

Conventions, general.

Reciprocity.

Revision.

SAAR BASIN: Customs duties.

TRANSPORT.

Discrimination in charges or conditions forbidden, if based on frontiers crossed ; on kind, ownership, flag, place of departure or destination of means of transport ; on route or transhipment places ; on port of entry or departure ; on whether by sea, land, air. XII, I, 323.

TRANSPORT (contd.)—

Discrimination in delay, &c., not to be imposed on persons or goods using ports or vessels of A. or A.P., compared with those of Germany or any other Power. Ditto.

Ports : Germany to participate in any tariff arrangements intended to secure equality for ports of A. and A.P. with German and other ports. XII, I, 326.

Ports of A. and A.P. share reduced tariffs, &c., on German railways and waterways granted to German or other ports. XII, I, 325.

Rapidity of carriage, &c., of goods, whether to or from or in transit to or from A. and A.S., equal to treatment of other goods in Germany. XII, I, 324.

Rapidity of carriage : perishable goods : Customs formalities not to interfere with through carriage. Ditto.

See also—

PORTS, WATERWAYS, RAILWAYS :—

Reciprocity.

Revision.

PRISONERS OF WAR.

RAILWAYS.

SAAR BASIN :—

Mines : transport.

Transport.

TRANSIT.

Means of.*See—*

Discrimination.

EXPORTATION : discrimination.

IMPORTATION : discrimination.

TRANSIT : discrimination.

TRANSHIPMENT.*See—*

EXPORTATION : discrimination.

IMPORTATION : discrimination.

TRANSPORT : discrimination.

TREATIES. X, II, 282-295.**Bilateral treaties :—**

Between Germany and Austria, Hungary, Turkey or Bulgaria, between August 1, 1914, and this Treaty coming into force, abrogated. X, II, 290.

Each A. or A.P. shall, within six months of Treaty coming into force, notify to Germany those which shall revive. X, II, 289.

Revival to date from notification. Ditto.

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TREATIES (*contd.*)—

Bilateral treaties (*contd.*)—

Those contrary to present Treaty not to be revived.
Ditto.

Parts contrary to present Treaty not to be revived, in case of difference
L. of N. to decide. Ditto.
All others remain abrogated.
Ditto.

Rights granted Austria, Hungary,
Turkey, Bulgaria by treaties
prior to August 1, 1914, to be
secured to A. and A.P. X, II, 291.

General treaties :—

Africa : Berlin Act, 1885. IV, I,
126.

Africa : Brussels Act, 1890. Ditto.
Belgium : Treaties of April 19,
1839. III, I, 31.

China : Protocol of September 7,
1901. IV, II, 130.

Chinese Customs Tariff : Arrangement
of August 29, 1902. IV,
II, 129.

Iron gates : Treaty of Berlin, 1878.
XII, II, 350.

Morocco : Algeciras Act, 1906. IV,
v, 141.

Savoy and Gex : Act of Vienna,
1815. XV, —, 435.

Whangpoo : Arrangements of September
27, 1905, and April 4,
1912. IV, II, 129.

See also under Subjects.

Interpretation of treaties a subject
suitable for arbitration. I, —, 13.

Multilateral treaties :—

List of those of economic or technical
character alone to be applied
between Germany and A.
and A.P. parties thereto. X, II,
282.

See also under Subjects.

Postal and telegraphic conventions
to be applied subject to Germany
assenting to new States taking
part. X, II, 283.

Peace treaties with Germany's allies :
Germany will recognise. XV, —,
434.

Rights granted to non-belligerents
from August 1, 1914, to Treaty
coming into force to extend to A.
and A.P. X, II, 294.

See also—

GERMANY : Ex-Emperor.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS : international
bureaux.

TREATY.

A. and A.P.

See—

TREATIES :—

Bilateral treaties.

Multilateral treaties.

Rights granted to non-belligerents.

TREATY :—

Austria.

Hungary.

Bulgaria.

Turkey.

Austria and Germany :—

Rights granted Austrians by treaties
prior to August 1, 1914, to be
secured to A. and A.P. X,
II, 291.

Those between August 1, 1914, and
this Treaty coming into force
abrogated. X, II, 290.

Belgium :—

Germany assents to abrogation of
treaties of April 19, 1839. III,
I, 31.

And to recognise any replacing
conventions. Ditto.

Bulgaria and Germany :—

Rights granted Bulgarians by
treaties prior to August 1, 1914,
to be secured to A. and A.P.
X, II, 291.

Those between August 1, 1914, and
this Treaty coming into force
abrogated. X, II, 290.

China and Germany, March 6, 1898
(Shantung), benefits renounced in
favour of Japan. IV, VIII, 156.

Danzig and Poland, proposed.

See DANZIG : treaty.

Egypt. German treaties abrogated.
IV, VI, 148.

France :—

And Germany : Equatorial Africa,
November 4, 1911, and September
28, 1912, abrogated. IV, I,
125.

And Germany, February 9, 1909,
and November 4, 1911 (Morocco),
benefits renounced. IV, V, 141.

And Monaco, July 17, 1918, noted
by H.C.P. XV, —, 436.

Frankfort, May 10, 1871. III, V, 51.

Versailles, February 26, 1871.
Ditto.

TREATY (*contd.*)—

Germany.

See—

TREATIES :—

- Bilateral treaties.
- Multilateral treaties.

TREATY :—

Austria.

Belgium.

Bulgaria.

China.

Egypt.

France.

Hungary.

Liberia.

Luxemburg.

Morocco.

Roumania.

Russia.

Siam.

Turkey.

Hungary and Germany :—

Rights granted Hungarians by treaties prior to August 1, 1914, to be secured to A. and A.P. X, II, 291.

Those between August 1, 1914, and this Treaty coming into force abrogated. X, II, 290.

Liberia :—

German treaties terminated. IV, IV, 139.

1911 and 1912 arrangements: German rights renounced. IV, IV, 138.

Luxemburg: Germany renounces benefits under treaties of February 8, 1842, April 2, 1847, October 20-25, 1865, August 18, 1866, February 21, 1867, May 11, 1867, May 10, 1871, June 11, 1872, and November 11, 1902, and consequent conventions. III, II, 40.

Monaco. *See TREATY*, France.

Morocco :—

German treaties abrogated. IV, V, 141.

See also TREATIES: General treaties.

Netherlands: Treaties of April 19, 1839: Germany consents to abrogation. III, I, 31.

Poland and Danzig, proposed. *See DANZIG*: treaty.

"TREATY COMING INTO FORCE," date of. *See RATIFICATION*.

TREATY OBLIGATIONS, GERMAN.

Limitations, &c., on rights in industrial and intellectual property ac-

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quired before or during war may be imposed by A. and A.P. to secure fulfilment. X, VII, 306.

Roumania :—

Treaty of Bucharest: renunciation by Germany of benefits under. IX, —, 259.

With Germany: before August 1, 1914, or since, till this Treaty comes into force, abrogated. X, II, 292.

Russia :—

Treaties of A. and A.P. with States of Russia: Germany will recognise. III, XIV, 117.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and all German treaties with Maximalist Government abrogated. X, II, 292; IX, —, 259; III, XIV, 116; XIV, II, 433.

With Germany: before August 1, 1914, or since, till this Treaty comes into force, abrogated. X, II, 292.

Siam :—

German treaties terminated. IV, III, 135.

Turkey :—

And Germany: rights granted to Turks by treaties prior to August 1, 1914, to be secured to A. and A.P. X, II, 291.

And Germany: those between August 1, 1914, and this Treaty coming into force, abrogated. X, II, 290.

TRIAL. *See COURT*.

TRIPTYCH. *See RESTITUTION*: leaves of triptych.

TROPHIES. *See RESTITUTION*.

TRUMBIC, A.

Representative of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and signatory of the Treaty. p. 110.

TRUSTEES. *See MISSIONS, RELIGIOUS*.

TSENG-TSIANG, LOU.

Representative of China.
(*See footnote to CHINA*.)

TUGS. *See RIVER BOATS*.

TURKEY.

German rights, &c.: Germany will recognise arrangements by A. and A.P. IV, VII, 155.

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New States: Germany will recognise as constituted under treaties of peace with A. and A.P. XV, 434.

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TURKEY (*contd.*)—

Territory: Germany will recognise dispositions in treaties of peace with A. and A.P. Ditto.

Wireless telegraph stations not to be erected by Germany for three months after Treaty comes into force. V, II, 197.

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Banking.

Property: concessions.

Turkey.

U.

UNITED STATES.

Original member of the L. of N. I, Ann.

Signatory of the Treaty.

See also—

ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL, MIXED: decisions: appeal.

CONTRACTS, PRESCRIPTIONS, JUDGEMENTS: contracts: exceptions.

NAVIGATION:—

Rhine: cession of tugs, &c. (arbitrator).

Rivers, international: cession of tugs, &c. (arbitrator).

PROPERTY, INDUSTRIAL:—

Infringement.

Licences.

Periods.

PROPERTY, INTELLECTUAL:—

Infringement.

Licences.

REPARATION COMMISSION: delegates.

UNIVERSITIES. *See* SCHOOLS.

URUGUAY.

Original member of the L. of N. I, Ann.

Signatory of the Treaty.

V.

VANDERVELDE, E.

Representative of Belgium and signatory of the Treaty. p. 107.

VENEZUELA.

Invited to accede to Covenant of L. of N. I, Ann.

VENISELOS, E. K.

Representative of Greece and signatory of the Treaty. p. 108.

VESNITCH, M.

Representative of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and signatory of the Treaty. p. 110.

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VIOLATION OF LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF WAR. *See* PENALTIES.

VISTULA RIVER.

See—

DANZIG: Treaty.

PRUSSIA, EAST: Marienwerder plebiscite.

VLTAVA.

See—

NAVIGATION: Elbe.

NAVIGATION: Rivers, international.

VOTES.

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PLEBISCITE.

SAAR BASIN: Government.

W.

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"WALTRAUTE."

German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. V, II, 187.

WANG, CHENGTING THOMAS.

Representative of China.

(*See footnote to CHINA.*)

WAR.

Reprisals for default in reparation not acts of war. VIII, I, Ann. II (17).

Violation of Articles 42 and 43 (fortification, &c., of Rhine frontier) a hostile act. III, III, 44.

See also—

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: war.

PENALTIES: violations of laws and customs of war.

European:—

Ceases when present Treaty comes into force. Preamble.

See ALSACE-LORRAINE: war expenditure.

WAR MEASURES.

See—

PROPERTY, INDUSTRIAL.

PROPERTY, INTELLECTUAL.

PROPERTY, RIGHTS, AND INTERESTS, PRIVATE.

"WAR, DURING THE."

Definition for purposes of Part X, Sections III, IV, V, and VII. X, V, 303.

WAREHOUSES. *See* NAVIGATION: free zones: facilities.

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Rhine : power.

Rivers, international : works.

WATERWAY. *See* BOUNDARY.

WATERWAYS.

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ALSACE-LORRAINE : industries.

DANZIG : Treaty.

EXPORTATION : discrimination.

IMPORTATION : discrimination.

KIEL CANAL.

NAVIGATION :—

Danube : Rhine-Danube navigable waterway.

Rhine-Meuse Canal.

PORTS, WATERWAYS, RAILWAYS : conventions, general.

SAAR BASIN : mines : transport.

TRANSIT.

TRANSPORT.

"WESTFALEN."

Battleship to be surrendered to P.A. and A.P. V, II, 185.

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WHITE, HONOURABLE HENRY.

Representative of the United States and signatory of the Treaty. p. 106.

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, renewed between Germany and A. and A.P. parties thereto. X, II, 282.

WILLIAM II OF HOHENZOLLERN. *See* GERMANY : ex-Emperor.

WILSON, HONOURABLE WOODROW.

President of the United States and signatory of the Treaty. p. 105.

WINES. *See* COMPETITION, unfair : regional appellations.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHS. *See* TELEGRAPHS, WIRELESS.

WOMEN, NIGHTWORK FOR.

Convention of September 26, 1906, renewed between Germany and A. and A.P. parties thereto. X, II, 282.

See also—

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Conference, general : advisers.

Office, international : staff.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS : social, &c., conditions.

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Y.

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German auxiliary to be disarmed and treated as merchant ship. X, II, 187.

YUGO-SLAVIA. *See* SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE.

Z.

ZOLLVEREIN. *See* CUSTOMS UNION.

APPENDIX

TIME LIMITS

THE following table gives all the times and periods mentioned in the Treaty. It is arranged in the order of the length of the periods and, subject to that, in the order of the articles where they occur.

It should, however, be pointed out that these periods, even when equal, have not the same significance. For instance, a period may, *inter alia*, connote time :—

1. Within which a certain act must be performed ;
2. Within which certain optional acts must be performed, if at all ;
3. During which certain conditions must obtain ;
4. After which certain conditions must obtain ;
5. The action taken in which, even if optional, determines future conditions.

Where not otherwise stated, the period runs from the date of the coming into force of the Treaty.

Period.	Subject.	Reference.
10 days	Schleswig: evacuation of plebiscite zone and dissolution of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils there	III, XII, 109 (1).
Ditto	Ditto : International Commission	III, XII, 109 (1).
15 days	Boundary Commission, Belgium	III, I, 35.
Ditto	Ditto, Saar Basin	III, IV, 48.
Ditto	Ditto, Czechoslovak State and Poland	III, VII, 83.
Ditto	Ditto, Poland and Germany	III, VIII, 87.
Ditto	Upper Silesia: evacuation of plebiscite area and dissolution of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils there	III, VIII, Ann. (1).
Ditto	Prussia, East: Allenstein plebiscite: evacuation of zone	III, IX, 95.
Ditto	Ditto: ditto: International Commission	III, IX, 95.
Ditto	Prussia, East: Marienburg plebiscite: evacuation of zone	III, IX, 97.
Ditto	Ditto: ditto: International Commission	III, IX, 97.
Ditto	Boundary Commission, Danzig	III, IX, 101.
15 days from result of plebiscite	Schleswig: constitution of Delimitation Commission	III, XII, 111.
3 weeks	Strasburg-Kehl: constitution of port of	III, V, 65.
3 weeks after evacuation	Ditto: plebiscite in first zone	III, XII, 109 (3).
1 month after notification of result of plebiscite	Upper Silesia: administration by authorities indicated by plebiscite	III, VIII, Ann. (6).
1 month	Submarines, &c., handed to P.A. and A.P. . . .	V, II, 188.
1 month after notification of limitation	Naval war material: surrender of excess	V, II, 192.
1 month	Gold deposit of Ottoman Public Debt in Reichsbank: transfer of	IX, —, 259 (1).

Period.	Subject.	Reference.
1 month . . .	Gold deposit of Ottoman Public Debt in Reichsbank (advance to Ottoman Government) : transfer of . . .	IX, —, 259 (3).
Ditto . . .	Gold deposit against loans to Austria-Hungary : transfer of . . .	IX, —, 259 (5).
1 month after ratification	Enemy debts: notification of adoption of Art. 296 . . .	X, III, 296 (e).
1 month . . .	Property of nationals of A or A.P. in German territory: information . . .	X, IV, Ann. 13.
Ditto . . .	Rhine plans of Alsace-Lorraine or Baden: handing over . . .	XII, II, 358.
5 weeks after plebiscite in first zone	Schleswig: plebiscite in second zone . . .	III, XII, 109 (4).
60 days . . .	Animals and articles to be replaced . . .	VIII, I, Ann. IV (3).
60 days after receipt of particulars	Reparation: option of Commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs . . .	VIII, I, Ann. VI (1).
2 months . . .	League of Nations: accessions . . .	I, —, 1.
Ditto . . .	Armaments: reduction of . . .	V, I, 167.
Ditto . . .	Ditto: surrender of excess . . .	V, I, 169.
Ditto . . .	Military schools: reduction of . . .	V, I, 176.
Ditto . . .	Rhine forts, &c.: disarmament . . .	V, I, 180.
Ditto . . .	Naval forces: reduction . . .	V, II, 181.
Ditto . . .	Naval personnel: reduction . . .	V, II, 183.
Ditto . . .	Warships: surrender . . .	V, II, 185.
Ditto . . .	Coast zone: limitation of munitions . . .	V, II, 196.
Ditto . . .	Air force: demobilisation . . .	V, III, 199.
Ditto . . .	Shipping: delivery of . . .	VIII, I, Ann. III (2).
Ditto . . .	Ditto: restitution . . .	VIII, I, Ann. III (6).
2 months after notification	Rhine waterway: French right to occupy lands on right bank for navigation works . . .	XII, II, 358 (2).
Ditto . . .	Rhine-Meuse Canal: Belgian right to occupy lands . . .	XII, II, 361.
3 months . . .	Shantung: handing over of archives and information as to treaties, &c. . .	IV, VIII, 158.
3 months and every 3 months up to Mar. 31, 1920	Army: reductions in personnel and material	V, I, 163, 165.
3 months . . .	Army: reduction of munition factories . . .	V, I, 168.
Ditto . . .	Army: disclosure of materials used in war . . .	V, I, 172.
Ditto . . .	Submarines: destruction of certain classes . . .	V, II, 188.
Ditto . . .	Wireless telegraph stations: limitation of use and prohibition of new construction . . .	V, II, 197.
Ditto . . .	Ditto, ditto: control of German stations at Nauen, Hanover, Berlin . . .	V, II, 197.
Ditto . . .	Air materials: delivery . . .	V, III, 202.
Ditto . . .	Military, naval, aerial legislation: modification . . .	V, V, 211.
Ditto . . .	Shipbuilding for reparation: notification of programme for 2 years . . .	VIII, I, Ann. III (5 a).
Ditto . . .	Live stock: delivery to France and Belgium . . .	VIII, I, Ann. IV (6).
3 months after demand	Louvain: reparation in kind to Library	VIII, II, 247.

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Period.	Subject.	Reference.
3 months after notification	Enemy debts: constitution of Clearing Offices	X, III, 296; X, III, Ann. (1).
3 months . . .	Property of nationals of A. and A.P. in Germany exempt from taxation of capital . . .	X, IV, 297 (j). X, V, 300 (a).
Ditto . . .	Prescription: suspension of periods of Negotiable instruments: resumption of periods of prescription . . .	X, V, 300 (g).
3 months after cessation of war measures	Negotiable instruments: acceptance, non-acceptance, protest . . .	X, V, 301.
Ditto . . .	Fire insurance contracts: continuance . . .	X, V, Ann. (9).
Ditto . . .	Life insurance contracts: restoration . . .	X, V, Ann. (11).
Ditto . . .	Ditto, cancellation . . .	X, V, Ann. (12).
Ditto . . .	Reinsurance contracts: continuance . . .	X, V, Ann. (20).
Ditto . . .	Mixed Arbitral Tribunal . . .	X, VI, 304.
3 months after appointment of Commission	Social and State insurance; conventions in regard to transfer of reserves in ceded territory . . .	X, VIII, 312.
Ditto . . .	Ditto: submission of recommendations to Council of League of Nations	Ditto.
3 months after notification	Ports of the Elbe, Oder, Niemen, Danube: cession of boats, &c. . .	XII, II, 339.
3 months . . .	Elbe, international commission . . .	XII, II, 340, 343.
Ditto . . .	Oder, international commission . . .	XII, II, 341, 343.
3 months after request	Niemen Commission: constitution of . . .	XII, II, 342-3.
3 months after notification	Ports of Rhine: cession of boats, &c. . .	XII, II, 357.
4 months from disarmament	Fortifications: dismantlement of certain . . .	V, I, 180.
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6 months . . .	German-held securities, &c., in A. and A.S.: surrender . . .	X, IV, Ann. (10).

Period.	Subject.	Reference.
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	Czecho-Slovak State	III, viii, 85.
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Ditto . . .	Poland : ditto . . .	III, VIII, 91.
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